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of the

Moravian Historical Society

VOLUME XVI

Part IV

Whitefield House
Nazareth, Pa.
1957

The Society's Centennial Year

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96TH ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 8, 1953

The 96th annual business meeting of the Society convened at 10 A.M. in the museum, Whitefield House at Nazareth, Pa., with the president, the Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, presiding. Twenty-three members were present.

Reading of the minutes of the annual meeting held October 9, 1952, was omitted by common consent, as they had previously been approved by the Executive Committee.

Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held August 26, 1953 were read and approved as read.

The Executive Committee, at its meeting held August 26, recommended that the president appoint a nominating committee of three members, two months prior to the annual election, which committee shall present to the annual meeting a full slate of officers and committee members for election for the ensuing year. The action of the Executive Committee was ratified on motion of Miss. Bahnsen and seconded by Bro. R. H. Brennecke.

Bishop Gapp read a letter from the Concordia Historical Institute of St. Louis, Mo., dated September 14, 1953 in which they request exchange privileges with the Moravian Historical Society, As this had been discussed and approved by the Executive Committee no further action was deemed necessary.

William E. Henry having been elected by the Executive Committee to act as treasurer upon the resignation of Bro. James S. Fry, read the following financial report as submitted by Bro. Fry; Cash on hand, October 9, 1952,

Checking account	$ 1,737.05	
Time deposit	1,606.16	$3,343.21

Receipts

Vesper	$ 147.00	
Annual membership fees	571.00	
Life memberships	70.00	
Sale of publications	203.84	
Interest on funds	398.03	
	$ 1,389.87	$1,389.87
		$4,733.08

Disbursements

Cost of vesper (1952)	$ 142.30	
Salary of secretary	50.00	
Salary of treasurer	50.00	
Salary of librarian	200.00	
Printing	5.40	
Safe deposit box	3.60	
Postage	17.58	
Hope cemetery upkeep	25.00	
One half cost of chimney repairs (Whitefield H.)	277.47	
Repairs to Indian Cemetery monument	25.84	
Insurance	6.00	
Commission on collection of dues	10.00	
Pennsylvania Historical Society dues	5.00	
	$ 818.19	$ 818.19

Balance on hand, July 26, 1953,

Checking account	2,300.70	
Time deposit	1,614.19	
		$3,914.89

Trust Funds

Helen Bell Memorial	$ 3,000.00
Monroe County Memorial	96.17
Zeisberger Memorial	257.00
Rest House Fund	230.45
Eugene Rau Estate	5,000.00

Albert Brodhead Estate	500.00
Publication Fund	2,959.43
	$12,043.05

Investments

Lehigh Valley Annuity Bonds	$ 2,000.00
Nazareth Second National Bank Stock	1,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds	12,610.00
	$15,610.00

Report of William E. Henry, treasurer, from July 26 to October 6, 1953.

Balance turned over by former treasurer, James Fry		$3,914.89

Receipts

Sale of publications	47.50	
Interest	70.57	
Receipts from Donation Box in musuem	47.93	
Annual membership fees	489.00	
	$ 655.00	655.00
		$4,569.89

Disbursements

One half cost of roof on Whitefield House	$ 1,002.72	
Cost of copyright on V. Haidt paintings	73.00	
Commission on collection of dues	13.80	
	$ 1,088.52	1,088.52
Balance on hand October 6, 1953		$3,481.37

On motion of Bros. Leibfried and R. Gross the treasurer's reports were approved.

NEW BUSINESS

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Library: By Walter L. Peters. We are pleased to report the following progress during the past year:

(1) Applications for Copyright of 18 paintings by John Valentine Haidt, fifteen religious subjects and three portraits, have been forwarded to the office of Copyright, Washington, D. C.

(2) One canvas "The Adoration of the Shepherds" by John Valentine Haidt has been restored through the courtesy of Mr. & Mrs. Walter L. Peters.

(3) The library and museum of the Moravian Historical Society situated on the second floor of the Whitefield House at Nazareth, Pa., has been renovated and rearranged at no expense to the Society. We believe that this has been a saving to the Society, of approximately $3,500.00. We believe that the following includes, in part, projects which should be begun during the coming year, or which should be studied in the coming year:

1. Catalogue, index and arrangement of the books and manuscripts in the Library section. We would suggest the engagement of a competent trained librarian acquainted with the German language as a part-time aid to a sub-committee consisting of Rev. Edward Swavely, Miss Elizabeth Bahnsen and Dr. Samuel Zeller.

2. Preparation of a new catalog of the artifacts in the museum.

3. The placement of all pictures, properly classified, in suitable albums.

4. Consideration of purchase of a fireproof safe for the protection of irreplaceable manuscripts and books; the installation of proper fire extinguishers; proper coverage of fire insurance.

5. The appointment of a committee consisting either of the members of the Library Committee or a special committee, for proper storage of museum artifacts remaining on the third floor of the Whitefield House and the giving of authority to such a committee for disposition of such items which by them are not considered of value to the museum.

6. Adequate means for employing a person or persons to keep clean the museum.

7. Regulation of hours for use of the museum and library and by whom, together with the consideration of adequate compensation to the curator.

8. Heating facilities for meeting room.

9. Restoring musical instruments.

10. Restoration of Haidt paintings.

Upon request Bro. Peters was asked to submit the names of the persons who assisted and were responsible for the rearrangement and renovation of the museum during the past Summer; he listed the following;

Walter L. Peters, Dr. Samuel Zeller, Rev. John R. Weinlick, George W. Hahn, Miss. Elizabeth Bahnsen, Mrs. Margaret Peters, Gerhard Zeller, Rev. Edward H. Swavely.

It was moved by Bro. Brennecke and seconded by Rev. Giering that a rising vote of thanks be extended to Bro. Walter Peters and the entire group who so industriously restored the museum to it's present state. Unanimously carried.

Publication: Rev. Brennecke reporting for this committee advised concerning Miss Moore's publication, that the committee was not yet ready to make a recommendation as it was still being reviewed by the committee. Other papers are considered worthy of publication but the committee is not yet ready to make recommendations.

Rev. Weinlick raised the question whether publications had to be approved at the annual meetings, or did the Executive Committee have the power to approve. The president held that this was no problem since there is usually only one publication a year and the Executive Committee had the power to approve.

Bro. Brennecke advised that Vol. XV of the Transactions was available and would be distributed this afternoon at the Vesper meeting and that copies would be mailed to those members who did not pick up theirs to-day. He also stated that the cost of Vol. XV to those not entitled to free copies would be $4.50 each. (Actual cost of publication).

President Gapp directed that mention be made in the minutes "That the need and cost for future development of the museum, as recommended by the Library Committee, should be studied by

the Executive Committee.'' Bro. Brennecke moved and Bro. Weinlick seconded the motion that the Executive Committee and the Publication Committee jointly study the entire question of publications and report their findings and recommendations at the next annual meeting. Unanmiously carried.

At this juncture the president, Bishop Gapp, read a ''Minute of Respect'' upon the death of James S. Fry who passed away September 30, 1953 having been a member of the Society for many years and treasurer for twenty-seven years, as follows:

''The directors and members of the Moravian Historical Society bow humbly to the will of the Heavenly Father, sadly, because He has taken away from our Christian fellowship here, but also with Christian solace, because He has found worthy of a call to His more immediate presence in the everlasting habitation, our brother and fellow member, James Samuel Fry, on September 30, 1953.

The beautiful tribute paid our departed Brother by his pastor, Grother Giering, in the obituary read at the funeral, and which covers every aspect of the departed's faithful life and many sided service, will be made a part of the official minutes of our Society, by order of the directors and with the consent of Bro. Giering. This Minute of Respect therefore needs only to emphasize in particular the departed Brother's excellent service to the Moravian Historical Society for the twenty-seven years he had charge of the society's finances. He discharged these duties seriously and faithfully and to the great satisfaction of the directors. In addition to that he bore the responsibility of making all needful arrangements for the annual Vesper of the Society, with the unstinted cooperation of a noble group of Nazareth people. Never was anything missing or unprovided for.

We greatly miss him at this morning's business meeting and miss his presence here at this Vesper. We know that others will carry on, with the inspiration of his life and service before them, but we can not help feeling we have lost a good friend, a dear brother, a trusted official of our Society and above all a humble and devoted fellow Christian. ''The memory of the just is blessed.''

The directors ordered that this Minute of Respect be sent to Mrs. Fry with the kindest greetings of all members of the Society, and that it be incorporated in the minutes of the society.

THE OBITUARY OF JAMES SAMUEL FRY

by his pastor, The Rev. Robert I. Giering, and read at the funeral of the departed.

"With humble faith and reverent Christian affection we mark the passing, and honor the memory of James Samuel Fry, a devoted churchman, a loyal citizen, a sincere friend and a Christian gentleman.

Brother Fry was born at Rothsville, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, on December 14, 1876, son of the late Nathan and Anna (Miksch) Fry. He was reared under the shadow of the beautiful old Lititz Moravian Church, and there through childhood and youth he learned to love his Lord and serve him. The church, the personalities and community of his childhood and youth, were precious treasures of memory during all the years of his life. Though he came to Nazareth at the age of 23 and united with our Nazareth Moravian Church in 1900, his great service in our Nazareth Church and community seemed deeply rooted and constantly inspired by beautiful Lititz and the Christian faith and affection of his childhood and youth. For forty-three years the light of his life and Christian faith, shone brightly in our Nazareth Church and community. He took an active part in community, state and nation. In his community he served as a business man, Notary Public, and Justice of the Peace with the constant respect and admiration of his many friends and townsfolk. He was a member of the I.O.O.F. lodge of Nazareth, and Whitfield lodge No. 622 F. and A. M., of which group he was a past Master. He was a loyal Rotarian, and for more than 25 years before his confining illness he maintained a perfect attendance at his club meeting.

Brother Fry gave himself unstintingly to any task assigned to him. His church and his denomination were his pride and joy. For 27 years he served as treasurer of the Moravian Historical Society, and it was with a kind of heart-breaking reluctance that he resigned his office because of failing health. Together with his faithful helpmate he served as Head Diener of our Nazareth Moravian Church and brought to that office a tireless devotion which was an inspiration to his pastor and fellow-members. He likewise served as a trustee of his Church, and for six years was president of that important board of the church, with all it's heartaches and responsibilities.

In failing health for a number of trying months, our faithful friend and devoted servant of God fell asleep in his Lord, at his home on South Main Street, Nazareth, last Wednesday, September 30, 1953.

Brother Fry is survived by his loyal and devoted wife, the former Emma Beitel, who for thirty eight years ministered in love and shared his joys and disappointments and sorrows with affectionate Christian grace. In addition, he is survived by one brother, Ralph W. Fry of Nazareth, and one sister, Mrs. Jesse V. Honeycutt of Bethlehem.

Brother Fry was permitted to bring his age to 76 years, 9 months, 16 days.

As Christian friends, together with the entire church which he loved so dearly, we pray in humble faith and Christian affection, for those who mourn, and with them thank God for all His ministries of love through the faithfulness of all his earthly, human servants.''

Miss Bahnsen moved and Mr. Frick seconded that the Minute of Respect by Bishop Gapp and obituary by Brother Giering be read at the Vesper meeting, Carried.

The Secretary read a letter from Mrs. James S. Fry thanking the Society for the basket of flowers forwarded to the funeral of her husband.

The President read a letter from Mr. Blaine R. Gantz, Mt. Joy, Pa. Route 2, pertaining to the cemetery at Milton Grove, near Mt. Joy, of which he is caretaker, soliciting financial assistance for the care of a section of the cemetery in which Moravians are buried. This request was addressed to Dr. Raymond Haupert and referred to the Society. Bishop Gapp later notified Mr. Gantz that we would make an investigation when the weather permits. On motion of Bro. Weinlick, seconded by Dr. Haupert and carried, that the Secretary notify the Graveyard Committee to make an investigation of the Milton Grove cemetery.

President Gapp read the following letter from Dr. Raymond S. Haupert:

> ''Moravian College and Theological Seminary will celebrate it's Sesquicentennial Anniversary of the founding on October 2, 1957. Because Moravian College and Seminary was founded at Nazareth Hall, we are definitely planning

commemorative exercises to be held in Nazareth on October 2, 1957.

I am writing especially to ask whether the Moravian Historical Society would consider joining with Moravian College and Theological Seminary in commemorative exercises in Nazareth, October 2, 1957, and also inviting our Moravian College historian, Professor John R. Weinlick, who is preparing new sesquicentennial History of the College, to deliver a paper at the Historical Society meeting of 1957.

I should like to suggest also the possibility of making October 2, 1957 the date of the annual meeting."

Bro. Peters moved and Bro. Drydoppel seconded that the President appoint a committee to work with Dr. Haupert on this matter, carried.

President Gapp appointed the following Committee; Robert I. Giering, Walter L. Peters, Robert H. Brennecke.

The Secretary read the names of the following persons applying for membership to the Society;

Life Member: Miss Helen Louise Desh, Bethlehem.

Active Member: The Rev. John Fliegel, Bethlehem, George Mabus, Nazareth, Carl F. Nowack, Watertown, Wis.

Associate Member: Hon. Alexander Wallace, Philadelphia; Miss Lillie Turman, Green Pond, Bethlehem.

The following bills were presented by the Secretary;

Salary of Secretary	$ 50.00
Salary of Treasurer	50.00
Salary of Librarian	200.00
Trombone choir	12.00
Nazareth Pub. Co.	21.58
Vesper Speaker	25.00
Flowers (Jas. S. Fry)	10.10
Vesper expenses	? ?

On motion of Brs. Desh and Leibfried it was voted to authorize the Treasurer to make payment.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Bro. Peters nominated William E. Henry to fill both the vacant office of treasurer as well as the office of secretary. This was agreed upon by common consent. He then nominated all the of-

ficers that had served during the past year. Dr. Haupert moved and Bro. Gross seconded the motion to close the nominations.

The following officers were unanimously elected and the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot;

President, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D. D.D.

Vice Presidents, The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, Ph.D. D.D., Prof. H. H. Beck, Sc. D., The Rev. John R. Weinlick, Ph.D., Mr. Andrew G. Kern.

Secretary, William E. Henry

Treasurer, William E. Henry

Librarian, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely

It was the consensus of the meeting that all committees be elected separately.

Bro. Henry nominated Bro. Frank Seyfried as a member of the graveyard committee; he was voted a member on motion of Bro. Desh and Mr. Frick.

Committees

Publication; The Rev. Robert H. Brennecke, Chairman. The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Mr. Henry B. Rau, The Rev. John R. Weinlick.

It was voted to elect these members to the Publication Committee on motion of Dr. Haupert and Bro. Leibfried.

Library; Walter L. Peters, Chairman, George W. Hahn, Dr. Samuel Zeller, Miss G. Elizabeth Bahnsen, The Rev. John R. Weinlick, Mrs. Walter L. Peters, The Rev. Edw. H. Swavely, Gerhard Zeller.

These members of the Library Committee were voted to office on motion of Bro. Brennecke and Dr. Haupert.

Graveyard; Robert F. Ziegler, Chairman, George W. Hahn, J. Frederick Knecht, Frank Seyfried.

On motion of Bro. Desh and Mrs. W. L. Peters these members were voted into office.

Board of Managers; Robert J. Desh, John E. Leibfried, Robert S. Taylor Jr., Walter L. Peters, The Rev. Henry L. Williams, William E. Henry.

On motion of Miss Bahnsen and Mrs. Peters these members of the Board of Managers were voted into office.

On motion of Bros. Desh and Haupert the meeting was adjourned at 12.40 P.M.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

A meeting of the Executive Committee followed immediately after the adjournment of the business session for the purpose of electing the applicants to membership that were presented at the business meeting. On motion of Bros. Desh and Leibfried they were elected to their respective membership. Meeting adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

The meeting was continued in the social rooms of the Moravian Church at 1 P.M. A number of selections were rendered by the trombone choir on the church lawn.

The President called the meeting to order. Approximately one hundred and eighty members and guests were present. All standing, stanza No. 1 on the leaflet was sung as grace accompanied by the trombone choir; "What Praise to Thee, my Saviour is due for every favor." After the usual luncheon the president read the names of the members who had passed to their eternal rest during the past year, they are as follows;

Active members: James S. Fry, Nazareth; Rev. Albert J. Harke, Schoeneck; Mrs. Fred D. Kern, Nazareth; The Rev. Chas. D. Kreider, Nazareth; Mrs. A. de G. Vogler, San Diego, Calif.

Associate members: Mrs. W. H. Erwin, Bethlehem; Dr. E. A. N. Seyfried, Nazareth.

Stanza No. 2 on the leaflet was sung in their memory, "They with patience having run their appointed race in hope &c."

The President greeted the members and guests in well chosen words, and then presented The Rev. Vernon W. Couillard, M.A. Th.D., John Taylor Hamilton Professor of Doctrinal Theology and Dean of Moravian Seminary, who read a paper on the theme "Glimpses of the Life, Spiritual Experiences, Work and Beliefs of John Cennick, Methodist-Moravian (1718-1755)." This very interesting paper was extracted from Dr. Couillard's doctoral dissertation which is entitled "The Theology of John Cennick." It represented interesting phases of this early 18th century evangelist who had a large part in the beginnings of the Methodist Church, the Calvinistic Methodist Church, and the establish-

ment of the Moravian Church in Britian and Ireland. Particularly interesting was the portrayal of associations with both John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield and Howell Harris.

President Gapp after commenting on the paper by Bro. Couillard, extended the appreciation of the Society to him for his splendid paper which reminded us again of the important part our early evangelists played in advancing Christian spirit and promoting the establishment of Moravian and Methodist churches in Europe.

The President requested any remarks from those present or any other business that they desired to bring before the meeting.

He further stated that upon the adjournment of this Vesper meeting a special meeting would be held in the Bible school room where Bro. Walter L. Peters would have on display one of the Haidt paintings that had been restored and also in comparison one that had not been restored, and that he also would make a short talk on these paintings. He trusted that all who possibly could, should attend this meeting as it would be very interesting.

As there was no further business presented nor remarks from those present, after singing stanza No. 5, he pronounced the ninety sixth annual meeting adjourned.

The meeting on the Haidt paintings was exceedingly well attended and created much interest in the paintings because of the excellent talk given by Bro. Peters.

Wm. E. Henry
Secretary-Treasurer

In Memoriam

James S. Fry

was born December 14, 1876 in Rothsville, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He died September 30, 1953 in Nazareth, Pa. He joined the Society in 1906 and was its treasurer for 27 years.

Rev. Albert J. Harke

was born in Zhitomir, Russia August 14, 1890. He died June 6, 1953 in Schoeneck, near Nazareth, Pa. He joined the Society in 1945.

Mrs. Fred D. Kern

was born August 18, 1880 in Bushkill Township, Northampton County, Pa. She died October 7, 1953. She joined the Society 1923.

Rev. Charles D. Kreider

was born December 29, 1867, in Lancaster, Pa. He died June 26, 1953 in Nazareth, Pa. He joined the Society in 1895.

Mrs. A. de G. Vogler

was born March 24, 1888. She died November 22, 1952 in San Diego, Calif. She joined the Society in 1916.

Mrs. W. H. Erwin

was born December 22, 1887, in Bethlehem. She died September 17, 1952 in Bethlehem. She joined the Society in 1945.

Dr. E. A. N. Seyfried

was born February 28, 1904, in Schoenersville, Lehigh County, Pa. He died August 17, 1953 in Nazareth, Pa. he joined the Society in 1943.

The Hymns of James Montgomery

By

Rev. John H. Johansen, S. T. M., *Pastor, Christ Moravian Church, Winston-Salem, N. C.; Instructor, Department of Religion, Salem College, Winston-Salem.*

TO COMMEMORATE THE CENTENNIAL OF JAMES MONTGOMERY'S DEATH

Friendly argument ebbs and flows among hymnologists upon the relative merits of Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley as writers of hymns. Let the debate continue. We cannot decide who stands first in the hierarchy, but we can be certain of this, that whichever of these two stands first and second, the third place goes to James Montgomery, Moravian poet and hymn writer, the centennial of whose death occurred on the last day of April in this year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and fifty-four.

Writing towards the end of the last century, Canon Ellerton, the learned and gentle author of many well-known hymns, spoke thus of James Montgomery: "He was our first hymnologist; the first Englishman who collected and criticised hymns, and who made people that had lost all recollection of ancient models understand something of what a hymn meant, and what it ought to be."[1] Garrett Horder, that most discerning hymnologist, said of Montgomery's hymns that "for variety, clearness, strength, suitability of form to subject they have rarely, if ever, been excelled."[2] And Bernard Manning, in his authoritative work on Wesley and Watts, declares that "The more Montgomery is read the more his solid merit appears. It is a merit that is easily missed, for it has no showiness to recommend it."[3] The quality of Montgomery's hymns is confirmed by the large percentage that have endured, and found inclusion in all modern hymnals.

In order to appreciate the work he did, we must know a little concerning the man himself. Montgomery, born in 1771 and liv-

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[1] H. Housman, *John Ellerton: Life and Writings on Hymnology* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1896), p. 337.

[2] W. Garrett Horder, *The Hymn Lover* (London: J. Curwen & Sons. Third Edition, Revised), p. 138.

[3] Bernard Manning, *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts* (London: The Epworth Press, 1942), p. 113.

Born in Irvine, Scotland, 1771.
Died April 30, 1854.

ing to be eighty-three years old, was destined for the Moravian ministry, but this destiny was not fulfilled. Montgomery was fond of saying humorously that he "narrowly escaped being an Irishman," for he was born in Irvine, Scotland, soon after his parents arrived from Ireland, where his father had been minister of the Moravian Church at Gracehill, County Antrim. He received his early education at the boys' school in Fulneck, the chief Moravian settlement in England, and it was while he was here at school that his parents died, in 1783, on the island of Barbados in the West Indies, to which they had gone as missionaries. When he was sixteen years old, James was apprenticed to a grocer, but he ran away from him two years later, and became a shop-boy in a printing establishment at Wath in Yorkshire. He was already writing poetry and in 1790 went to London to see a Mr. Harrison about having the poetry published. This Mr. Harrison refused to do, but he did engage Montgomery as a shopman and from this time forth he was engaged in newspaper work. In 1792 Montgomery became assistant to the editor of the "Sheffield Register," and two years later he secured the paper for himself. He changed its name to the "Sheffield Iris," and continued to edit and publish it until July 1825.

Montgomery was a man of fearless political views, which were not always acceptable to the government of the day, and twice he was fined and imprisoned for his liberal pronouncements in the paper which he edited. It is to these imprisonments that we are indebted for some of his best hymns. It appears he could "sing the Lord's song in a strange land!"

Montgomery lectured in various places on poetry, notably at the Royal Institution, London, in 1830-31,[4] and he was in demand for many religious gatherings, particularly those of missionary organizations and the Bible Society. Dr. Benson[5] describes Montgomery as "a facile poet in the narrative and descriptive manner." He never ceased throughout his life to work for the abolition of some of the gross social evils that disfigured the England of the nineteenth century; he advocated the abolition of slavery at a time when the doctrine was still unpopular, and formed an association for the rescue of juvenile chimney

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[4] These lectures were published in 1833 under the title "Lectures on Poetry and General Literature."

[5] Louis F. Benson, *The Hymnody of the Christian Church* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927), p. 126.

sweeps. "His Moravian background," Routley says, "gave him a missionary zeal which, allied with his lively social conscience and his literary facility, made him a formidable warrior in the Christian social cause."[6]

Montgomery was forty-three years old when he made a public profession of faith, coming back to the little church of his boyhood. Like William Cowper, to whom he has been likened, he was never married. He certainly knew much of "the changes and chances of this mortal life," for eventually the government which had imprisoned him, gave him a literary pension of two hundred pounds a year! For nearly half a century he enriched the hymnody of the Church, and must certainly merit a place with the greatest of English hymn writers.

True to the Moravian tradition Montgomery was enthusiastic in the cause of missionary work overseas. One of his best and most popular hymns was inspired by this interest. "Hail to the Lord's Anointed," his version of Psalm 72, remains, and rightly, one of our greatest missionary hymns, and first appeared in eight stanzas. S. W. Christophers[7] has expressed the feelings of countless numbers of Christians concerning this hymn:

> "How the devotion of the inspired psalmist kindles and glows when he looks at God in the face of the reigning Messiah! Can anything be more sublime than Psalm 72? Could there be a more perfect harmony of the Divine and the human in praise? And who does not thank God for the man who threw that song into English metre, so happily as to give it all the charms of new music, so effectually as to naturalize it to the purest taste and the warmest hearts of Christian England? James Montgomery did this when he taught us to sing
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> 'Hail to the Lord's anointed,
> Great David's greater Son.' "

The language of this hymn is simple and scriptural, Isaiah being quoted with great force in the first two verses, and the eighty-

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[6] Erik Routley, *I'll Praise My Maker* (London: Independent Press Ltd., 1951), p. 180.

[7] S. W. Christophers, *Hymn Writers and their Hymns* (London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1866), p. 179f.

fifth Psalm in verse three. And who can resist the appeal of the last stanza with its firm, confident ending:

O'er every foe victorious,
  He on His throne shall rest;
From age to age more glorious,
  All blessing and all blest;
The tide of time shall never
  His covenant remove;
His Name shall stand for ever,
  That Name to us is love.

This hymn was written originally as a Christmas ode and was sung at one of the Moravian settlements in England, on December 25, 1821. The next April, Montgomery attended a missionary meeting held in the Pitt Street Wesleyan Church, Liverpool, where he was one of the speakers. He closed his address by reciting the words of this hymn, and Dr. Adam Clarke, who presided at the meeting, was so impressed that he secured a copy, and in 1822 appended the hymn to his notes on the Seventy-second Psalm in his now famous Commentary On The Bible.

Montgomery is known by a number of other fine missionary hymns. What can be more triumphant than the hymn of God's victory, the "Song of Jubilee"?

Hark! the song of jubilee,
  Loud as mighty thunders roar,
Or the fulness of the sea,
  When it breaks upon the shore;
Hallelujah! for the Lord
  God omnipotent shall reign!
Hallelujah! let the word
  Echo round the earth and main.

This is a hymn which any congregation will find an excellent antidote to the flagging faith and nerveless despairs of these difficult days. Two other fine missionary hymns are "O Spirit of the living God," and "Lift up your heads, ye gates of brass."

The former of these two hymns is addressed to the Holy Spirit, and it may be noted here that Montgomery had a very well-developed doctrine of the Holy Spirit. From the days of the early Church until now this doctrine has been a stumbling-block to Christians. The idea that the Holy Spirit is a vague spiritual influence, perplexing to the average man, is held unconsciously by many Christians in the world today. Montgomery can put us

right. Let us follow the doctrine through this hymn. In the first stanza he invokes the Holy Spirit:

O Spirit of the living God,
In all Thy plentitude of grace;
Where'er the foot of man hath trod,
Descend on our apostate race.

He then turns to certain gifts of the Spirit:

Give tongues of fire and hearts of love
To preach the reconciling Word;
Give power and unction from above,
Where'er the joyful sound is heard.

The preaching and interpretation of the glorious Gospel of the blessed God are gifts of the Spirit, not of man; and when the mighty impact of that Gospel makes itself felt upon men, they will need the "power" of the Spirit to uphold them, and his "unction," which is his comfort, to renew them.

Next we have the Creator-spirit, familiar to us from the very first verses of the Bible:

Be darkness at Thy coming, light;
Confusion, order in Thy path;
Souls without strength inspire with might,
Bid mercy triumph over wrath.

The "light" and "order" that come of the Spirit reveal themselves in men's lives as mercy and strength.

O Spirit of the Lord, prepare
All the round earth her Lord to meet;
Breathe Thou abroad like morning air
Till hearts of stone begin to beat.

Here is the gentleness and persuasiveness of the Spirit working upon men from within in order that they may be fit and able to confront their Lord when they see Him.

Baptize the nations! far and nigh
The triumphs of the Cross record;
The Name of Jesus glorify,
Till every kindred call Him Lord.

The whole of missionary work depends on the kingship of Christ;

the activity of the Spirit tends to nothing but the awakening in men of the consciousness of that kingdom.

Now most modern hymnals end this hymn at this point. And what impression is left? Not unnaturally the congregation has entirely forgotten that the whole hymn is addressed to God the Holy Spirit. Montgomery, however, would leave us in no confusion, and he appends a strictly theological last stanza which should never be omitted.

> God from eternity hath willed
> All flesh shall His salvation see;
> So be the Father's love fulfilled,
> The Saviour's sufferings crowned through Thee!

Here is not only a final reference to the Spirit, but a complete doctrine of the Trinity. All the aspirations that have gone before depend for their fulfillment on the love of God the Father, the atonement of the Son, and the power of the Spirit. As Routley says: "This is not a hymn of pious resolve; it is a hymn of praise and supplication, addressed as all the greatest hymns are addressed to God. It is because our own doctrine of the Holy Spirit is so deficient, and so far behind Montgomery's, that some of us have left out this last verse, feeling that the hymn makes a better finish on a note that can easily be confused for a note of exhortation."[8] Montgomery teaches that God the Holy Spirit is God himself the third person of the Holy Trinity, without any difference or inequality, not a vague kind of diffused, unseen spiritual influence.

It should be noted that all these four missionary hymns have in common one great quality; they all emphasize the kingship of God and of his Christ. Montgomery never felt that missionary work was man's work. He always saw it as God acting through men, and the spirit of his hymns is always "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory." He stressed the monarchy of God more than the brotherhood of man, feeling that the brotherhood would follow from the kingship, and not vice versa.

Montgomery has not left us many hymns of pure adoration, but he has left us several that deal very happily with public worship and in all of them we note a vital conception of the local

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[8] Op. Cit., pp. 189, 190.

church as a gathered community in constant touch with the Church Triumphant. One of the hymns which deserves to be better known is "Sing we the song of those who stand." There could scarcely be a more fitting opening than this to a service of public worship. The first stanza gathers the universal Church Militant together in an act of praise, and the whole hymn is based on the idea, which is thoroughly scriptural, that that which binds the world-wide Church and the Church in heaven in one family is their common praise of Christ. It begins thus:

Sing we the song of those who stand
  Around the eternal throne,
Of every kindred, clime, and land,
  A multitude unknown.

The second stanza shows us the Church as a family which in its spiritual unity transcends the barriers of age, class and learning.

Life's poor distinctions vanish here;
  Today the young, the old,
One Saviour and His flock appear,
  One Shepherd and one fold.

Naturally enough, the next stanza proceeds to the earthly state of the Church, and tells the soldiers of Christ where they may look for their encouragement and refreshment. Then there breaks over the earthly song the praise of heaven.

Toil, trial, suffering, still await
  On earth the pilgrim throng;
Yet learn we in our low estate
  The Church Triumphant's song:

"Worthy the Lamb for sinners slain"
  Cry the redeemed above;
"Blessing and honour to obtain
  And everlasting love."

"Worthy the Lamb" on earth we sing,
  "Who died our souls to save!
Henceforth, O death, where is thy sting?
  Thy victory, O grave?"

Then hallelujah, power and praise
  To God in Christ be given;
May all who now this anthem raise
  Renew the strain in heaven!

Better known and distinctly popular is "Stand up and bless the Lord." This is the nearest Montgomery comes to a simple hymn of praise. His invincible belief in the gathered Church which calls people out of the world to a higher, supernatural life in Christ, is expressed in the very first stanza:

Stand up and bless the Lord,
  Ye people of His choice!
Stand up, and bless the Lord, your God,
  With heart, and soul, and voice.

And what could be a better vehicle of the people's praise than this stanza:

God is our strength and song,
  And His salvation ours;
Then be His love in Christ proclaimed,
  With all our ransomed powers.

Other hymns in this category are "Command Thy blessing from above," and "To Thy temple I repair." This latter hymn is unique in expounding the several acts of a service and directing the singer's thought upon their significance. Perhaps this is one of those hymns which are more appropriate to private devotions than to public worship. The last stanza is a typical Montgomery finish:

From Thy house when I return
May my heart within me burn,
And at evening let me say,
"I have walked with God today."

It should be noted in connection with these hymns of public worship that Montgomery wrote a number of hymns for special occasions. There is one in common use for the laying of a corner stone, one for ordinands, one for the installation of a minister, and one for the reception of a new church member.

Montgomery has left us two hymns upon prayer, both of which have unmistakable marks of greatness. "Lord, teach us how to pray aright" should not be absent from any hymnal, though many nowadays prefer the next hymn to which we shall refer.

In this first hymn is given a compendium of spiritual instruction in the form of a series of petitions.

Lord, teach us how to pray aright,
With reverence and with fear;
Though dust and ashes in Thy sight,
We may, we must draw near.

Burdened with guilt, convinced of sin,
In weakness, want, and woe,
Fightings without, and fears within;
Lord, whither shall we go?

"To anyone," Routley says, "who sees the Christian faith as rich and humbling truth, the omission of this passionate, glowing hymn from modern hymnals is an amputation. For once the gentle Montgomery has gone too far, and insults breezy modern Christianity by telling it to weep, and debases it by calling the righteousness of modern man dust and ashes. So we delete it. No wonder our piety is poor and our devotion arid."[9]

The twin brother to this hymn is "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire," and the two hymns were first published in a leaflet in 1819. Where the former is passionate, this is didactic; where the former is rugged, this is smooth. The Christian world has claimed this second hymn on prayer and has used it in public worship until it has become a classic which is assured a permanent place. This hymn was written for Edward Bickersteth's "Treatise On Prayer," 1818, as answer to the question, "What is prayer?" We quote the first and last stanzas:

Prayer is the soul's sincere desire,
Uttered or unexpressed;
The motion of a hidden fire
That trembles in the breast.

O Thou, by whom we come to God,
The Life, the Truth, the Way,
The path of prayer Thyself hast trod,
Lord, teach us how to pray.

Montgomery has given the Church of our day one of the greatest hymns on the Incarnation ever written. "Angels from the

[9] Op. Cit., page 208.

realms of glory,'' is universally known and loved, and appeared in the columns of The Sheffield Iris on December 24, 1816, under the heading ''Nativity.'' It was composed of five stanzas, usually reduced in present-day hymnals to four, omitting the one beginning,

> Sinners, wrung with true repentance,
> Doomed for guilt to endless pains;

After being republished in Thomas Cotterill's ''Selection'' in 1819, it was subjected to several minor revisions by Montgomery himself, given the new title, ''Good Tidings of Great Joy to All People,'' and published in the author's ''Christian Psalmist,'' 1825, and his ''Original Hymns,'' 1853. Duffield[10] has said of this hymn that ''For comprehensiveness, appropriateness of expression, force and elevation of sentiment, it may challenge comparison with any hymn that was ever written, in any language or country.''

On one other theme the hymns of James Montgomery are outstanding. His favorite theme is the Cross. The comment of Addison[11] concerning early Moravian hymnology applies also to the hymns of Montgomery: ''The chief burden of the hymns was Ecce Homo.'' This can be seen in the hymn for Maundy Thursday:

> According to Thy gracious word,
> In deep humility,
> This will I do, my dying Lord,
> I will remember Thee.

This hymn is used for the august occasion of the Lord's Supper, and is found in almost every hymnal. It is written upon the text ''Do this in remembrance of me,'' and the last line of each verse contains a reference to the text as a solemn refrain.

This emphasis upon the sufferings and death of the Saviour, is shown also in his great hymn for Good Friday, of which there are two texts, both by Montgomery. In 1820 he published the first text in Thomas Cotterill's ''Selection of Psalms and Hymns,'' where it read:

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[10] Samuel W. Duffield, *English Hymns: Their Authors and History* (Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1886), p. 33.

[11] William G. Addison, *The Renewed Church of the United Brethren* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1932), p. 123.

THE LAST SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST

1. Go to dark Gethsemane,
   Ye that feel the tempter's power;
Your Redeemer's conflict see;
   Watch with Him one bitter hour:
Turn not from His griefs away;
Learn from Him to watch and pray.

2. See Him at the judgment-hall,
   Beaten, bound, reviled, arraign'd:
See Him meekly bearing all!
   Love to man His soul sustain'd!
Shun not suffering, shame or loss;
Learn of Christ to bear the cross.

3. Calvary's mournful mountain view;
   There the Lord of Glory see,
Made a sacrifice for you,
   Dying on the accursed tree:
"It is finished," hear Him cry:
Trust in Christ, and learn to die.

4. Early to the tomb repair,
   Where they laid his breathless clay;
Angels kept their vigils there:
   Who hath taken Him away?
"Christ is risen!" He seeks the skies;
Saviour! teach us so to rise.

Five years later he revised it heavily and published the altered text in his "Christian Psalmist," the italicized lines in the following reprint showing the changes made:

1. Go to dark Gethsemane,
   Ye that feel the tempter's power
Your Redeemer's conflict see,
   Watch with Him one bitter hour;
Turn not from His griefs away,
   Learn *of Jesus Christ* to pray.

2. *Follow* to the judgment-hall,
   View the Lord of Life arraign'd;
O the wormwood and the gall!
   O the pangs his soul sustain'd!
Shun not suffering, shame, or loss,
   Learn of *Him* to bear the cross.

3. Calvary's mournful mountain *climb;*
   There adoring at His feet,
   Mark that miracle of time,
   God's own sacrifice complete:
   'It is finish'd'; hear *their* cry;
   Learn of Jesus Christ to die.

4. Early *hasten to the tomb,*
   Where they laid his breathless clay;
   All is solitude and gloom,
   Who hath taken Him away?
   Christ is risen: He *meets our eyes;*
   Saviour, teach us so to rise.

The earlier version seems to be favored in English hymnals, while the majority of nonconformist and American compilers have preferred the revised text.

Another Holy Week hymn expressing this fact of the Christian faith is the following:

In the hour of trial,
  Jesus, plead for me;
Lest by base denial
  I depart from Thee;
When Thou seest me waver,
  With a look recall,
Nor for fear or favor
  Suffer me to fall.

Another hymn of Montgomery's which must be mentioned is "For ever with the Lord!" It may not be an exaggeration to say it is a hymn which is a model of what any hymn dealing with death should be; sincere, restrained, an expression of living faith, not dimmed or entangled by a clutter of elaborate imagery, or points of theological dispute. Its original title was "At home in heaven," and the first line of the hymn is almost identical with the text upon which it is based: I Thessalonians 4:17, "And so shall we ever be with the Lord." It is too bad that the last stanza, as Montgomery wrote the hymn, is now omitted from most hymnals. It is truly triumphant, with its third line in the author's best tradition of long monosyllables:

The trump of final doom
Will speak the self-same word,
And heaven's voice thunder through the tomb,
"For ever with the Lord."

That resurrection-word,
That shout of victory,
Once more, "For ever with the Lord,"
Amen, so let it be.

We can understand why this hymn of Montgomery's has found universal favor. It reaches to the core of a simple, sincere feeling in contemplation of the future life. In no field of religious thought is the need for simple and clear restatement more urgent than in relation to this subject.

These hymns, and others, such as "The Lord is my Shepherd," "Thy law is perfect, Lord of Light," "Come to Calvary's holy mountain," "Pour out thy Spirit from on high," "Holy, holy, holy Lord," "Oh! where shall rest be found?" "Work while it is to-day," and "Sow in the morn thy seed," give us some ideaa of what a debt the Christian world owes to this man who "passed through storm and tempest, through privation and struggle, to the peaceful haven of his later years."[12]

The story of the origin of the last hymn mentioned above is worth recording. In February, 1832, Montgomery and a blind friend, Rowland Hodgson, were travelling together in a carriage along a Gloucestershire road when they passed a field in which some women and girls were sowing seed. Montgomery described the scene to his blind friend, mentioning certain peculiar actions of the workers. Mr. Hodgson suggested that they were "dibbling," explaining that for economy's sake holes were made in the field, and two or three grains of corn dropped into each hole. This process did not appeal to Montgomery, who declared it lacked the rhythm and grace of motion in broadcasting seed in the usual way. But the scene set him thinking, and within a short time he produced the now well-known hymn, originally called "The Field of the World":

Sow in the morn thy seed,
At eve hold not thine hand;
To doubt and fear give thou no heed,
Broadcast it o'er the land.

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[12] Arthur E. Gregory, *The Hymn-Book of the Modern Church* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1904), p. 288.

Montgomery's work as a pioneer hymnologist has already been alluded to. It should also be noted that another of his services to hymnody was to help introduce hymns "of human composition" into the Church of England. Under the influence of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, England at the Reformation followed the Calvinistic pattern of public praise, and only the metrical psalms were used in the services of the Church. In 1819, Thomas Cotterill, who was then the Vicar of St. Paul's Church in Sheffield, published the eighth edition of his "Selection of Psalms and Hymns for public and private use, adapted to the services of the Church of England." In this work he had the help of Montgomery, who printed the book for him.

Montgomery's biographers tell of the event in these words: "To this 'labor of love,' the poet readily consented: contributing not only the benefit of his judgment in the choice and amendment of available compositions from various quarters, but a number of his own best hymns."[13] It was at Montgomery's suggestion, also, that Cotterill included the Christmas hymn, "Christians awake," in the version with which we are familiar.

When the book was put into use a part of the congregation of St. Paul's objected, and an action was brought against the vicar in the York Consistory Court. The Archbishop wisely undertook to mediate, and the Moravian editor again assisted the Church of England vicar in the production of a book which the Archbishop, Vernon Harcourt, not only criticised and revised, but to which he added hymns of his own, and produced the work at his own expense. This resulted in breaking down the persisting opposition, as all over England Harcourt's attitude was accepted as authorizing the general use of hymns in the services of the Church. Thus the incident may be said to mark the victory of hymnody in the Anglican Church.

The secrets of Montgomery's power as a hymn writer are not hard to find. His poetic ability was of high order, and he was also one of the best literary critics of the day. He ably criticized the hymn writings of his predecessors, usually kindly criticism, and his insight and impartiality made his criticisms valuable.

Montgomery's language is always clear, always apposite, al-

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[13] John Holland and James Everett, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of James Montgomery* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1885), Vol. III, p. 158.

ways scriptural. His hymns are always competently made, but they never depend on beauty or striking picturesqueness of language alone for their merit. The content of his hymns is full of sound doctrine and the language is Scripture, and herein is found the true test of a Christian hymn. A hymn may possess accurate rhythm and be true to the laws of poetical taste, but if it fails to reflect accurately correct Biblical doctrine it is not a genuine Christian hymn any more than were the notorious Arian hymns of the fourth century genuinely Christian.

Few hymn writers are there of whom it could be said that an hundred years after their death thirty of their hymns are in use. In relation to the total hymns written, a higher percentage than applies to Watts or Wesley. As Dr. Breed has pointed out: "Few surpass him in positive usefulness. And after all, what better standard can we raise than this."[14] Few hymn writers have deserved as well of our hymn singing congregations as James Montgomery; none better.

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[14] David R. Breed, *The History And Use of Hymns and Hymn-Tunes* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903), p. 161.

The Office of the Bishop in the Renewed Moravian Church

Kenneth G. Hamilton

The Moravian Church belongs to the churches with an ecclesiastical tradition, though some among us may question the desirabilty of publicly underscoring this fact by adopting the title of "The Moravian Episcopal Church." Ours is indeed a unique kind of episcopacy. Just what this term may have meant in the New Testament Church or in the first generations of the post-apostolic Christian world is the subject of disagreement among scholars. But there can be no doubt at all as to what the term came generally to mean in later centuries. The *episcopus*, or bishop, soon acquired monarchical authority in the church. He became the recognized ruler over a clearly defined group of congregations, the diocese. The authority which he exercised was conceived to be derived by apostolic succession directly from Christ. Not that the bishops ever claimed absolute autocracy, of course; in theory, at least, their power was always understood to be subject to fundamental teachings contained in the Bible. Yet the bishop was clad in pomp and ceremony and very real power; rightly he became known as a "prince of the Church."

Now it is a far cry from this eminence, which the word "bishop" usually conjures up in the mind, to the status of the *episcopus fratrum* today. No less a personage than the president of our venerable society, himself a distinguished bishop of our church, is my source for the little couplet in which Moravian Church historians in the German Province have summed up the function of the bishop in the Renewed Moravian Church:

Der Bischoff ist ein Mann,
Der ordinieren kann.

Put into English that signifies:

To the bishop does pertain
The power to ordain.

Perhaps that rhyme represents a slight over-simplification. Yet I am haunted with the thought that some of you, after hearing all I have to say on this subject, may conclude that I could profitably

have ended my paper at this point, having thus said nearly all that is essential to the matter. However, I am also bold to believe that those who love history will find certain fascination in following the long interplay of forces which have determined that our bishops should be just what they are, even though in the end it should prove possible to sum up the outcome of our search in a two-line couplet.

This study is limited, you will note, to the status of the bishop in the Renewed Moravian Church. This is, of course, intentional. We do not have sufficient time to discuss the episcopacy in the Ancient *Unitas Fratrum;* moreover that is a more familiar field, which has seen a good deal of research both by German and English writers. Suffice it to say here that our forefathers in Bohemia introduced the episcopacy into their church fellowship in 1467, in the hope of thus assuring among men and women beyond their own circle recognition of their body as a legitimate part of the church universal. To a large extent they adopted the traditional conception of the place and function of the bishop, as was only natural. Each bishop had his own diocese and governed it. Three main modifications, it seems to me, distinguished the episcopal office in the Ancient Unity from that in the Roman Catholic and Utraquist Churches of the day. First of all, since the early Brethren recognized only too clearly that temporal power and wealth had done much to corrupt the established church throughout Europe, they consciously strove for apostolic simplicity in all things. Further, among them the presbyters and even the laity had a prominent part in the choice of those to be elevated to the episcopate. Finally, the institution of frequent synods, to which the bishops were directly accountable for the way they ruled their dioceses, represented a democratic check upon their power, which was lacking in other ecclesiastical bodies.

The Moravian Church was renewed in 1722, with the founding of Herrnhut on an estate that Count Zinzendorf had recently acquired. This renewing did not, however, result in the ancient institutions of the *Unitas Fratrum*— its traditional organization and ministerial orders—being brought over the Bohemian border and introduced into Saxony. What happened was that a group of poverty stricken refugees found asylum there, laymen all, men of humble walk with little learning. While they cherished the memory of the golden days of their church, as recounted to them by their elders, none of them had personally known its life and nur-

ture. These immigrants were dependent on the charity of Count Zinzendorf, a Lutheran with Pietist leanings, and also of the friendly overseer on his estate, Johannes Georg Heitz, an ardent member of the Reformed Church. To all intents and purposes they became a part of the Lutheran parish of Berthelsdorf.

You are familiar with the story of the following five years, leading to the adoption of the Statutes of May 12, 1727, and culminating in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon their fellowship on August 13 of the same year. These events made Herrnhut an unusual place. It had become a vitally religious community, but one as yet without any ecclesiastical standing. Its official spiritual head was the Lutheran minister of Berthelsdorf, though other friendly clergymen gave it their services occasionally. The people of Herrnhut had adopted a form of self-government, which placed authority for inner discipline in the hands of chosen lay Elders. At the same time Zinzendorf's position both as their landlord and as the generous Christian friend to whom the community owed its well-being, gave him extraordinary authority, too. In dealing with the civil and ecclesiastical officials of Saxony and of neighboring states, he quite naturally served as their spokesman and their representative. Moreover Count Zinzendorf had remarkable gifts and intense spiritual force; they help explain his dominant influence over the young settlement.

Then in 1732 the Renewed Moravian Church launched out on a campaign of worldwide evangelism. The first missionaries sent out from Herrnhut were without exception laymen. They went—again without exception—to heathen races indeed, but heathen living under a measure of authority exercised over them by European colonial officials. Thus from the beginning Moravian missionaries encountered ministers of various state churches, who quite definitely would not tolerate laymen administering the sacraments to converts from among the heathen, or performing marriage among them. Indeed such church officials often doubted the propriety of permitting laymen so much as to give religious instruction to the heathen.

There were various possible ways of dealing with this problem. Men possessing recognized ecclesiastical orders, who had been attracted by the religious warmth of the Herrnhut settlement and had therefore thrown their lot in with the Moravians, could be sent out into the mission fields to perform the functions of the ordained ministry. Thus Spangenberg accompanied the colonists

who sailed for Georgia in 1735. Or, as Court Preacher Reuss of Copenhagen advocated, missionaries might conceivably be given a limited authority to administer the sacraments among their converts without ordination. Against this proposal Spangenberg maintained that the *Tübinger Bedenken* specifically recognized independent ordination as permissible within the Renewed Moravian Church. According to Zinzendorf[1], the Georgia colonists generally preferred to follow what they believed to have been the example of the apostolic church and elect their own preachers and deacons; whether these were trained or not, whether they had received ordination or not seemed immaterial to them. But if they were to be provided with ordained ministers, then they preferred to draw upon the apostolic succession still to be found in their own church; for if they and their converts would be given these orders, they would not lose their identity within the Protestant Church.

At first Zinzendorf himself inclined to provide the far-flung Moravian communities with young, theologically trained men from Jena and Tübingen, i.e. with Lutheran clergymen. But he came to see that the Moravian colonists could more suitably be served by individuals who shared their own traditions. On the day before the transfer of the episcopacy, the diary of Herrnhut contains a reference made in a prayer service to:

> the Slavonic episcopal ordination, which has been maintained since the days of St. Paul in Illyricum, to its history and renewal; in order that such brethren could teach and carry out ecclesiastical rites in the colonies, who, however, shall in no other respects have preference or prestige in the church. [2]

Therefore an election was held and David Nitschmann was chosen as candidate for this office, the lot sanctioning the choice. On his return from Holstein in February 1735 he was sent to Daniel Ernst Jablonski, court preacher in Berlin, grandson of Comenius, and one of those who *in spe contra spem* had been consecrated bishops of the *Unitas Fratrum* in anticipation of its

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[1] See Johannes Plitt, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte der Brüder-Unität*, 1841. To this manuscript history I owe many of the facts and quotations, found in this paper, which antecede the synod of 1746. The latter is the first gathering of its kind, the minutes of which are in the collection held in the Archives of the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Valuable also is Plitt's discussion in *Vom Bischofthum der Brüder-Unität in alter und neuer Zeit.*

[2] Plitt, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte der Brüder-Unität.*

renewal. David Nitschmann carried with him a written request from Count Zinzendorf that he "should be ordained a bishop of the Moravian Church in foreign parts with as little stir as possible."

As here contemplated the episcopacy was to serve the "Moravian Church in foreign parts." For as early as August 1733 Count Zinzendorf had proposed that the fellowship which had come into being at Herrnhut should be divided into two parts. Both were to remain one in spirit and in polity under the supervision of the Chief Elder and of Zinzendorf as Overseer. One, with its seat at Herrnhut, would be predominately Lutheran in character, though carrying on the unique institutions developed there and continuing in statu quo with the constituted authorities. The other, made up of Moravian immigrants and others of the same mind (to whom, by the way, Zinzendorf and Spangenberg reckoned themselves), were to constitute a world-wide brotherhood of Christ's people.

At first, then, the episcopacy had been thought of purely as a utilitarian institution, the source of a ministry for this fellowship beyond the borders of Herrnhut. Doubtless, however, there were those from the beginning who saw in the transfer of the episcopacy another step towards the realization of their hopes: complete reestablishment within the Renewed Moravian Church of the church of their fathers.[3] David Nitschmann received episcopal consecration in Berlin on March 13, 1735, from Bishop Jablonski, Bishop Christian Sitkovius of Thorn associating himself in the act by letter.

What then of the status of this new church official, the bishop? What of his relationship to those already occupying positions of authority in the Renewed Moravian Church, particularly to the Chief Elder and to Zinzendorf himself? On March 12, 1735, the day before the consecration of David Nitschmann Zinzendorf made the following statement in an address to the church, the first part of which Plitt quotes, very nearly as follows:

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[3] It is of interest that the first ordination performed by David Nitschmann was that of Johann Georg Waiblinger who was not a candidate for mission service but for the pastorate of Pilgerruh in Schleswig. Plitt stresses, on the other hand, that Nitschmann continued to perform humble, manual labor, as a carpenter, after his consecration to the episcopacy. He himself was one who opposed the idea of the church growing great (both in Wetteravia and in Pennsylvania). He enjoyed the respect of his fellow members because of his personality rather than because of his position.

> The bishop is to serve our brethren, where they need this, as one empowered to ordain, not as an overseer of the church. According to the church's own declaration he [Zinzendorf] was its appointed Overseer, standing under the church's invisible Head, Christ (now [i.e. since 1733]—though the church itself made no such distinction—in spiritual matters as formerly in temporal) and the Chief Elder, Leonhard, who had been chosen by election and lot, with the Eldress Anna. As to the relation of the office of Overseer to that of the Elder, the latter was considered the higher, for Zinzendorf himself, together with the other Helpers (to whom Martin Dober, the teacher [i.e. preacher] belonged) all had promised Leonhard "obedience and reverence." This represented a kind of homage for this office (which had developed out of the first Elders' Conference and had no precedent in the apostolic church or in the Ancient Brethren's Unity) as though it were meant to represent within the church the Shepherd and Bishop of souls Himself. The Elder was the first among the brethren, the pastor of all; the Overseer was the chief servant of the church, especially in dealing with the world. Therefore though he remained subject to the Elder in internal matters, to those without he acted as the representative of the church.[4]

There really was no vacuum in Moravian life and polity at that period into which the bishop could step. The Chief Elder preempted not merely the office of administrator but of spiritual leader and intercessor as well. Thus Plitt quotes Zinzendorf as stating in the *Histoire de l'eglise des frères Moraves:*

> This brother bears, as once did Aaron the tribes of Israel, all congregations on his heart and presents them before God. He is the most revered person in the church. All who labor in the vineyard of the Lord, the bishops, too, are subject to him. His sentiments are decisive in the conferences. We reverence him inwardly as much as the Roman Church does outwardly its pope.[5]

But three factors soon made themselves felt which for a time distinctly changed the position of the bishop in the Renewed Church. One was Zinzendorf's own consecration to the episcopate of the *Unitas Fratrum* on May 20, 1737. He did not take this step unadvisedly or lightly. Much deliberation preceded it. He sought advice from men so different as Friederich Wilhelm I,

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

King of Prussia and the recently appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. The matter was discussed at length in the first "synod" of the Renewed Moravian Church, held at Marienborn Castle, December 10 - 12, 1736. Unfortunately no regular minutes seem to have been kept by this gathering. In after years Zinzendorf wrote thus regarding it:

> The Saviour fulfilled the prophecy in regard to the free and independent episcopacy of the Moravian Church, which He finally brought into being in Wetteravia. Concerning our joining ourselves to the outward constitution of the Moravian Church, as the oldest evangelical one, the "whether" was decided in 1731 in the Church Council at Herrnhut, the "how" at Königsberg; indeed with the year 1736 a new epoch began in the church. This year our cause received confirmation in the course of our association with the Saviour.[6]

There were strange features connected with this event. Zinzendorf considered himself an orthodox Lutheran clergyman and meant to remain such, even after accepting episcopal consecration from Jablonski, a Reformed divine and the bearer of the episcopacy of the *Unitas Fratrum*. Nitschmann joined in the act and again Sitkovius assented by letter.[7] The point we are chiefly interested in, however, is the purpose of this step. The new office was not meant to enable Zinzendorf to ordain workers for the foreign fields, though he frequently did so on occasion. Rather it was intended to supply him with prima facie authority as spokesman for the Renewed Moravian Church in negotiations with civil and ecclesiastical officials throughout Europe. His friends, the King of Prussia among them, had made him realize what an anomalous position he occupied, he a German count and Lutheran clergyman, championing a religious movement, the roots of which reached back into pre-Reformation days in Bohemia. With Zinzendorf's consecration, then, the Renewed Moravian Church had accepted a bishop, one of whose recognized functions was that of representing the church in its contacts with the world outside its fold.

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[6] Ibid.

[7] When his enemies charged that Zinzendorf's consecration had manifestly separated Herrnhut from the Lutheran Church and proclaimed it a sect, he replied in words addressed to the synod of Ebersdorf, in 1739, "Our bishops are only men with power to ordain; in the government of the Church they stand under the Elders. In this sense, and as a result of my examination in Berlin, I am and remain a Lutheran bishop of the Moravian Brethren."

In the synod at Ebersdorf (1737) Zinzendorf put it this way:

> For administration of the church in external affairs the episcopal office has been introduced, in order to prevent this from falling into alien hands [i.e. of the state church consistories]. But the real government of the church in internal affairs and matters pertaining to the heart, belongs to the Chief Elder.[8]

The second element making for a modification of the bishop's function was the church's uncertainty whether the office of Chief Elder could long be maintained. As early as 1737 Zinzendorf expressed doubts whether when Leonhard Dober would die another Elder could be elected who would hold authority over the whole church, so great were the qualities required for this office. Regarding the Chief Elder Zinzendorf said: "Hardly once in ten years may be become conscious of his being what he is, otherwise he would become a fine Lucifer."

The third development influencing the position of the bishop was the conviction slowly gained by many of those connected with the Renewed Moravian Church that it was God's purpose actually to resuscitate the Ancient Unity, not merely to have the descendants of that church form the core of a loose brotherhood of awakened, devout and zealous souls who would fellowship together within an ecclesiastical organization of their own. Any effort to understand the evolution of the Renewed Moravian Church during the late 1730s and early 1740s must allow for the constant clash between two conflicting conceptions which Zinzendorf was only partially able to reconcile with each other: namely the close fellowship of awakened brethren, centering in Herrnhut, and the revival of the distinctively Moravian Church beyond the confines of Herrnhut, particularly in the colonies and the mission fields. This yoking together of two conflicting ideas in an uneasy partnership within one church body affected the position of the bishop in various ways. Let us endeavor to trace them.

The synod held at Gotha, July 11 - 20, 1740, is known as the "Moravian Synod," so called because consideration of the episcopacy and of other peculiarly Moravian institutions formed the chief subjects for consideration in it. It adopted as the official name of the church that of "The Moravian Brethren" or "The

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[8] Ibid.

Brethren.'' Regarding the episcopacy the following decisions were reached:

> A bishop has an indelible character. Even after renouncing the office he retains power to ordain and baptize. Because the church considers ordination by bishops important and dare not let this die out, and because the Count believes that real, personal hatred will thus be removed and [sic.] plans to lay down this office after he had completed a certain task, but will retain the position which he held in the church before he received episcopal consecration. [i.e. the office of Overseer].

Synod added:

> Future bishops must defend the rights of the Moravian Church to be considered a Protestant Church. The Moravian Church must be so loyal to them that they would sooner be driven out than renounce their office. The cause of the Saviour requires our church to be recognized as a true church and remain so.[9]

The synod forthwith proceeded to elect as the third bishop of the Renewed Moravian Church a man who was ready to go all out in asserting the denominational character of this body, Gottfried Polycarpus Müller. Spangenberg had received nine votes for this office but refused to be considered further, and synod agreed it might be best not to elect him because of his former connections with Halle. Synod further agreed to retain Marienborn in perpetuity as the seat of the bishop of the distinctively Moravian churches. Moreover it now agreed that:

> The bishops are above the Elders with the exception of the Chief Elder and of that Elder who has the oversight of the congregation in which the bishop lives at any time. There are at present twenty-three ordained brethren, some the heads [ordinarii] of the congregations, some missionaries among the heathen. Deacons are the chaplains [capellanen] of the bishops.[10]

Throughout the month of December, 1740, another synod met at Marienborn, known as the ''Doctrinal Synod.'' For our purpose we note two details among its decisions. Marienborn is now officially designated as the main center of the Moravian Church (as distinguished from the fellowship of the Brethren which had developed in Herrnhut). Moreover the bishop in Marien-

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[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.

born, Polycarpus Müller, was given responsibilities specifically intended to correspond to those once held by the presiding bishop of the Brethren's Consistory in Jungbunzlau.

Six months later, from June 20 - July 3, 1741, another synod met in Marienborn. Because Zinzendorf intended to leave for America in the near future and David Nitschmann would also not be within reach, Zinzendorf felt that no one man could carry the burden that had been imposed on Polycarpus Müller: the supervision of from eighty to one hundred congregations all over the world and the keeping of them true to their calling, in addition to the bishop's direct responsibility for the Theological Seminary and for the Archives of the church, etc. Therefore Zinzendorf advocated the election of another bishop. His own candidate was Leonhard Dober. But contrary to his wishes John Nitschmann was chosen. Him the Count considered better fitted for the office of an Elder than of a bishop, since "he could neither write nor do much that a bishop ought to do."

However, elected he was. Synod appointed a "General Conference" to supervise the whole work of the church; it was constituted of "the two bishops, the assistant Chief Elder (Jacob Till) and additional brethren and sisters."

Then came the experience of the Sixteenth of September. To quote Zinzendorf's own words:

> The office [of Chief Elder] formerly was not what it now is, for formerly some treated it as the most active; but according to the present condition of the church, now that we have bishops and overseers who are really charged with its activity, the church generally does not consider it a prophetic office but a priestly one.[11]

The church having been led in that stirring experience both to acknowledge and to claim Christ as its divine Chief Elder, the function of the General Conference was further clarified. The duties formerly performed by the Chief Elder were divided into twelve separate responsibilities, and assigned to individuals. Thus, for example, to the bishops, and to Polycarpus Müller and John Nitschmann in chief, was committed the government of the outward church "in which we live and which we must help maintain, because it is the only sect which has appropriated God's counsel regarding it, which is offered to all." The doctrine

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[11] Ibid.

of the church was placed in the keeping of Martin Dober, as "Inspector" under the supervision, indeed, of the chief bishop. Zinzendorf remained the "Helper for the whole and the hinge." During his absence the Countess was to replace him. Anna Nitschmann on her return from America would serve as the "Female Helper for the whole and supply the hinge." This term, "the hinge," was a favorite one with Count Zinzendorf. Its imagery indicates its vital character for the well-being of the Moravian Zion. One of its main responsibilities was that of guarding against the church becoming institutionalized and thus degenerating into a new Babylon.

Finally it was decided that "the General Conference consists of these twelve offices combined. It is the general Overseer; it stands above the bishops, whose special department is the Moravian Church [i.e. the specifically Moravian section of the fellowship], not our church of Jesus. Within the General Conference each worker is the chief reporter for his own field."

Thus preparations were completed for the government of the church during the Count's absence in America, and for a year and a half the General Conference directed its affairs. Those in leadership strongly favored both the growth of the church and its distinctively Moravian character. In this period Prussia provided especially favorable opportunities for the organization of new congregations, since the King favored the Moravians and, on Christmas Day, 1742, granted them unusually favorable concessions. The royal letter contained, among other provisions, the statement that the "Moravian Church under the government of her bishops, shall be independent of the state church consistories."

When Zinzendorf heard in America of these developments he was filled with profound displeasure. They ran completely counter to his conception of the divine calling of the non-sectarian fellowship he had been at pains to create. He hurried back to Europe and expressed his opposition to the views of his brethren in no uncertain terms. They yielded to him. In the synod at Hirschberg, July 1 - 12, 1743, the General Conference was abolished and Zinzendorf took over. Before the year was out his associates gave him the title of *Advocatus et Ordinarius Fratrum*, or minister plenipotentiary of the Moravian Church. All administrative functions of the bishops qua bishops would have come to an end forthwith, except for the fact that Frederick the Great

proved less submissive to Zinzendorf than had the Moravians brethren. What the King had written he had written, in so far as he was concerned, and by virtue of the royal letter the public authorities of Prussia still recognized the independence of the Moravian Church "under the government of her bishops." This situation caused Zinzendorf a certain degree of unhappiness.

The synod of Marienborn, May 12 - June 15, 1744, formally vested all authority over the church in Zinzendorf and in the group of his close friends, who journeyed with him from place to place as "pilgrims." In each congregation and country, deputies were appointed; locally they received the title of "Congregational Helpers' Conferences," on the provincial level they were known as "Provincial Helpers' Conferences."

Zinzendorf's conception of the τρόποι παιδείας occupied much of the attention of this synod. Very briefly put, the Count had come to consider the main evangelical bodies in Christendom as representing different modes of schooling provided by the Head of the church universal for men of differing character and temperament, so that there would be available to each that form of spiritual nurture which his soul's welfare required. In the fellowship of the Brethren all were to be welcomed and to find congenial atmosphere: Moravians, Reformed, and Lutherans alike. But within this fellowship each was consciously to maintain the identity of his own church heritage. In this connection a new disposition was proposed regarding the episcopacy. Each denominational group within the church would be headed by a bishop of its own, who would also represent the church beyond its borders: Polycarpus Müller for the Moravians, and Friederich von Watteville for the Reformed. Both of them had already received consecration to the episcopacy. Synod also sent an invitation to Georg Johann Conradi, the General Superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Schleswig Holstein and a close friend of the Moravians, to accept consecration as the bishop who should head the Lutheran "trope" of the Moravian Church. He however, declined on the grounds of age. In the end Zinzendorf was satisfied to place "administrators" in charge of the "tropes" rather than bishops.[12]

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[12] Thus the minutes of the synod of Zeist, held in 1746, contain the following statements: "Regarding the machinery of our Moravian Church we have an opportunity to get it into better order than perhaps in any previous one. Its whole system can be reduced to about ten or

twelve persons, the episcopal college, as it is called in other connections. Only one bishop remains in it, namely Polycarpus. According to our new insight the bishops should not belong to any special 'trope' but hold a general office. The place among the bishops which has just become vacant must be filled from among the brethren in the congregations. The choice must fall on one who is not counted among the learned, since we never have more than one learned bishop. Thus we are agreed that no other is fitted for this, indeed, that perhaps the only person acceptable to all would be our Brother Leonhard [Dober]. He should have assumed this office some years ago, namely in 1741, and the brethren know in part the circumstances which prevented this from taking place." At the same synod Zinzendorf made the following interesting comment regarding the Lutheran "trope." "Its connection with the Moravian Church is more recent than that of the Reformed, and therefore it properly comes last in regard to its administration. I find, after looking about far and near in this connection, no brother more fitted than myself. Therefore, as an *episcopus emeritus*, who on the occasion of my ordination allowed myself to be examined and confirmed by all of my brethren and sisters with respect to my fundamental Lutheran principles, I am resolved to take upon myself the administration of the Lutheran 'trope.' I do not trust any brother in this matter; they are all suspect to me, even as I am suspect to them as regards this. I believe that a 'trope' requires a bit of the sectarian spirit about the religion of one's birth. Otherwise it becomes child's play, and the purpose of the 'trope' is not achieved." (See, Praeparations Rede zum Verlass des Synodi in Zeist, Sonntag den 12. Jun. 1746)

In 1745 another synod met in Marienborn. One important action taken by it was Spangenberg's consecration as bishop, to become the Elder and Vicar of the *Ordinarius* in Pennsylvania. Spangenberg had indeed repeatedly "represented the impropriety of the bishop's title for a man who journeys through the American forests with his sack on his back to visit non-Moravians. But he had allowed himself to be persuaded, in view of the probability that the case would arise, when we would be able to ordain preachers for the service of just such people."

Zinzendorf in his address on this occasion said:

> Brother Spangenberg is to assume the office of Elder in America and with it the office of Overseer over the churches, and by virtue of this will transmit the rite of ordination thither. It is not the intention for him to assume the office of bishop in the same way as must be done here in the Moravian Church (where the bishops are recognized by the letter of the King of Prussia to be the authority of the Brethren in external affairs) but he is really invested with power to ordain (which a person continues to retain when he lays down the episcopacy, as I did three years ago and no longer let it be effective in my case in that respect, though I have retained the right to ordain) . . . . With Brother Dober the case is different; he lives with us in Europe where the larval

state of the Moravian brotherhood is still necessary and where one does not like to go out into the world without it. Everyone of us knows what hides behind the mask: a simple servant of Christ, who loathes ceremonial, titles, and the like. And we all want to demonstrate that we are such; then titles will not harm us.[13]

Zinzendorf's views regarding the office of the bishop in the Moravian Church can perhaps be said best to crystallize in the account which he gave regarding it in the synod at Lindheim, July 12 - 27, 1745.

The ordination in 1737 (i.e. his own) was the first step in the introduction of the Moravian episcopacy into the German congregations (till then it had been intended to serve only the Moravian congregations in foreign parts). At that time I conferred with Archbishop Potter of Canterbury concerning the affairs of the Moravian Brethren—he had just been appointed by the King. He said: "Although external matters are not too important, when one is concerned with souls, we should not neglect the episcopal succession, for a blessing rested on it." This remark led me to Berlin. The present need for this Moravian episcopacy lies really in this: it has existed for nearly three hundred years, and one should not give up old, beneficial institutions; the cause of the Brethren especially in England has been helped by it. There we are considered an orthodox episcopal church. And in fact our form of government is now episcopal, not presbyterian. But since this might result in a church of people who are not of that mind. [des Herzens], therefore no one can be Chief Overseer as bishop. The Elders must fill this place, not in an ecclesiastical sense, but as those who in a spiritual sense fill the place held by the prophets in the Old Testament and by the angels in the apocalypse, as the representatives of the true Head of the church. Viewed as to outward matters in ecclesiastical forms, they are considered as the collective councillors of the bishops. We now have so many such Elders that we could create a College of Elders, people who from the beginning belonged to the cause. The institution of such Elders and their true function must never be lost among us, else we too will become a "religion" [i.e. an organization which is a church in name and form only]. Zinzendorf adds: In future we will call ourselves simply Brethren, and our bishops, bishops of the Brethren. For to the Brethren's Church belong not only the Moravian

[13] Plitt, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte der Brüder-Unität.*

> Church but that made up of those Lutherans and Reformed who no longer can exist in their own denomination because of their brutal theologians. We make use again of the right that rests upon the fact that formerly in Prague and in Poland there existed a Reformed and a Lutheran Moravian Church, which preserved their mutual creeds. Therefore we must now again use these terms in their general meaning.[14]

To sum up the evolution of the episcopacy in the Renewed Moravian Church during the life time of Count Zinzendorf: all the evidence indicates that this office was introduced into the Moravian fellowship solely for the utilitarian purpose of providing an uninterrupted supply of ordained ministers for the mission fields. Many of the Moravian element in the church, however, in loyalty to the institutions of the Ancient Unity, used their influence to give the bishop something more like the authority he had exercised in the church of their fathers. Circumstances within and without the church seconded their design. Zinzendorf himself appears at times to have resisted and at times to have furthered this trend. Thus, for a while, the bishop's office carried with it a considerable measure of administrative authority—though always overshadowed by that of Zinzendorf himself and subject to modifications effected by the frequent resort to the lot. Spiritual leadership, however, which the church later came to associate with this office was expressly committed to others.

Zinzendorf's death represented a profound crisis for the church which owed so much to him. But the outcome vindicated the trust it had placed in its Chief Elder and divine Head. A series of constitutional synods convened in 1764, 1769, 1775, and 1782; Moravians in our day would be inclined to call these the first true synods of the Renewed Church, since their membership included elected delegates from the church at large. The results of these deliberations were ultimately summed up in the progenitor of all of our "Books of Order," a manuscript entitled *Extract aus den Synoden der Brüder Unität in den Jahren 1764, 1769, 1775, 1782.*

Any serious attempt to clarify the constitution of the church had of course to include a consideration of the place of the bishop. Paragraphs 812 to 829 contain legislation adopted as the

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[14] Ibid. Note: this synod adopted bodily all ecclesiastical offices which had been current in the Ancient Unity, as bishops, co-bishops, presbyters, deacons, acolytes.

result of such deliberations. They are here reproduced in toto for they contain the main features of what has come to be considered since then the Moravian position regarding the office of the bishop. It will be noticed that these formative synods removed all administrative power from the bishop, qua bishop. Our church committed itself to conferential government by men elected periodically to such office. Apparently this democratic constitution grew out of the conviction that to have the church—whether as a whole or in part—ruled by one individual no matter how well intentioned he might be, brought grave dangers with it. The fact that Zinzendorf's own office, that of *Ordinarius Fratrum* was abolished by the first of these synods surely is significant. Only one vestige of administrative power remained to the bishop; the synod of 1775 gave him an ex-officio seat and vote in the General Synod, a privilege taken away again when the force of circumstances obliged the church to reduce the membership of that body.[15]

A. Ordinations in General

¶812 We recognize that the prerogatives of an episcopal church, which we have received from the Ancient Brethren's Church, are indeed a gift of grace by divine providence.[16]

However we do not permit them to interfere with the Saviour's untrammeled government among us. But we make use of them to the extent to which they supply means to further the Kingdom of Jesus and secure for us among those outside of our church lawful recognition for the teaching ministry and the administration of the sacraments—as necessary

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[15] The General Synod of 1899 provided that "two bishops from each of the four independent Provinces, elected by their Provincial Synods" should have a vote and seat in General Synod. By 1914 this representation was reduced to one bishop from each self dependent Province. The General Synod of 1931 dropped all legislation entitling bishops as such to be represented in General Synod, though it "recommended that each Province include at least one Bishop among its representation." It should be added that the General Synod of 1889 made the bishops ex-officio voting members of the provincial synods in the Provinces in which they reside, an enactment which is still in force.

[16] In the *Wöchentliche Nachrichten aus dem im Jahre 1848 zu Herrnhut gehaltenen Synodus der Brüder-Unität*, No. 13, the following statement is made: We are resolved to count our episcopacy "as precious and valuable, since our connection with the Ancient Brethren's Church and our justification for calling ourselves the Renewed Moravian Church rests essentially upon it." This certainly is an overstatement of the case.

in view of ecclesiastical law, which Christian churches have adopted for the sake of order.[17]

¶813 For this reason we are bound to regard episcopal ordination as an important trust and guard it with care, lest it be lost by our church or pass into alien and improper hands. The latter is prevented by the fact that no bishop is permitted to exercise his power to ordain without having the express commission of synod or of the Unity Directing Board. Lacking such a commission the ordination would be entirely invalid.[18]

¶814 Important though ordination is and remains in our view, so that all things be done in proper order among us, yet it would be equally dangerous and harmful were we ever to add any kind of concept which would be contrary to the course appropriate to a living church of Jesus, and especially were we to try to discover in the episcopal dignity and ordination any measure of divine prerogative.

¶815 The acts which must be performed by an ordained brother for the sake of recognition among those outside our church are the following: the administration of Holy Baptism; the consecration of the Holy Communion; and marriage, though regarding the latter, namely marriage, an exception is made in some countries.

¶816 Brethren who are members of the Board of Elders, though not ordained, cannot be excluded from serving in the Holy Communion, unless special scruples exist regarding some individual; these, however, together with the grounds for them, should immediately be reported to the Unity Directing Board, to whose decision all shall thereupon conform.

¶817 An ordination by letter can be carried out only in case of extreme necessity and should normally be avoided, because its validity would be subject to question in some countries.[19]

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[17] The synod of 1782 went on record: "We make use of ordination only to the extent of obtaining necessary recognition from circles outside [the church], but otherwise we want by no means to associate anything further with it."

[18] The synod of 1889 recognized that this regulation implies the right of the bishop to decline to officiate when commissioned to ordain a brother who does not appear to him to be a fit candidate for the ministry.

[19] It may be interesting to trace some of the steps by which the policies regarding ordination now accepted—in the American Provinces, at least—came to be defined. Thus the synod of 1764 provided that in the ceremony of blessing Seniores and Co-Seniores Civiles, as they assumed

B. Regarding *Episcopi* and *Co-episcopi*

¶818 A bishop is an Elder commissioned and consecrated by synod to ordain other ministers of the church, whenever he is thus charged by synod or the Unity Directing Board.

¶819 The office of bishop is to be held in all honor among us and dealt with in such a spirit.[20] And even though a bishop should not be entrusted with a special office in the church, he is always to be considered a brother on whose heart the

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office, a bishop and a Senior Civilis were jointly to impose hands on the candidate. In ordaining a deaconess the bishop was to officiate, being assisted by a sister. The synod of 1775 provided that in the ordination of a presbyter—and that designation was officially readopted at this synod—a bishop was to officiate with or without the assistance of a presbyter. This synod also decreed that the "blessing" of a deaconess was to be performed by a bishop or co-bishop, but without the assistance of a sister. By the synod of 1782 the church had further clarified its views on ordination. The results of this synod contain the following provision:

> Concerning deaconesses in the Moravian Church certainly no objection can justly be advanced against work and assistance by sisters in the church per se, since we have inherited the practice of the Apostolic Church and of the old Bohemian Church at this point. But the blessing of a sister as deaconess should and *dare* not be confused with the idea of ordination. This would conflict with all constituted principles of ordination, which conveys the right to serve the church with the word and sacraments. Rather it is the opinion of the synod that the blessing of a sister as deaconess does not convey any particular commission, but is to be regarded simply as a public benediction for faithful service in the house of the Lord, given by a bishop or co-bishop to a sister by the laying on of hands at the direction of the Saviour, and by authority of the Directing Board and of the whole church in the presence of the whole congregation. A sister thus blessed as a deaconess is therefore all the more obligated to every form of service for the Saviour as and wherever He wishes to use her, even though she holds no special office.—For the future, synod decrees in this connection that a sister must have gained recognition as a willing handmaiden of the Saviour, before she can be proposed for blessing as a deaconess and that even so the approbation of the Saviour by means of the lot is always required for this.

In 1878 the American Provincial Synod, North, suggested the propriety of establishing the practice of having one or more presbyters, if present, join with the bishop in the laying on of hands at the ordination of deacons and presbyters. The General Synod of 1879, however, did not see fit to approve the proposal.

[20] The synod of 1764 voted: "It is proper not to choose for so important an office any other than acknowledged men of God and brethren worthy of being Elders . . . Care should be exercised in future not to increase their number beyond need, and not to choose for this others than men of God who were fitted to be elders and so acknowledged, nor, on the other hand, to confer the episcopal character upon all brethren who enjoyed recognition throughout the church and were respected as Elders."

welfare of the church lies in a special manner, since the blessing which was given him in his consecration makes this particularly incumbent upon him.[21]

¶820 Where, however, a bishop occupies a special office in the church, he is to maintain the vigilance and supervision belonging to it, yet not as a bishop, but by authority of the special mandate received by him for the time being. Thus a bishop is distinguished from another Elder in the church, not by any special form of supervision and vigilance but only by the power given him to ordain other ministers of the church as need arises.[22]

¶821 In regard to the former practice of designating a bishop as the bishop for a Choir [*Chor-episcopus*] which was meant to signify the same as a sectional bishop [*episcopus provincialis*] the synod of 1764 thought it best to abolish this designation in future, since it was never used in the Ancient Brethren's Church and has no further purpose, because with us this ordination does not have specific localities or congregations in view.

¶822 The synod of 1764 similarly abolished the title of *Episcopus Catholicus* (or universal bishop), which also was not customary in the Ancient Brethren's Church, and which causes remark outside of our church.

¶823 Similarly the same synod thought it best that the title and office of the *Ordinarius* of the Unity [this term was translated as "Ordinary" and signified "governor"] should cease.

¶824 As regards the order of the *Co-episcopi,* on the contrary, the synod of 1764 thought it best to retain it in accordance with the constitution of the Ancient Brethren's Church.[23] Yet since some scruples remained on this point,

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[21] The synod of 1764 stated: "The Holy Spirit is able to bestow upon such a brother on the occasion of his consecration a rich measure of grace and gifts."

[22] The synod of 1764 stated: the bishop "like all the Elders, stands under the authority of the Directing Board currently in office. If he has any other church office, is an *Oeconomus* [i.e. the head of a congregation], is occupied with the special care of one Choir or the other, or is a member of the Directing Board, he is this not *qua episcopus*, but by special commission and because the Saviour caused him to be acknowledged in the hearts of his brethren and sisters as fitted for this. His bishop's office does not exclude him from all these offices, neither does it at all convey to him a right to them."

[23] As regards *episcopi* and *co-episcopi* the synod of 1764 noted that: "Comenius reports that each received a different kind of ordination" . . . In future the distinction between *episcopi* and *co-episcopi* was to be indicated at their consecration, either by the use of different litur-

it was submitted to the Saviour. He indicated that this matter should not first be submitted to the lot.

In the synod of 1775 it was thought best to inquire of the Saviour about maintaining the order of the *co-episcopi. He did not approve that the order of co-episcopi, maintained hitherto among us, should cease or that the former co-episcopi should be regarded as episcopi.*[*24] However, because there were still some points of uncertainty regarding the *co-episcopi,* the Saviour made it plain to the synod * *that in* future no one should be ordained as a *co-episcopus.* Therefore, should the election of bishops become necessary, the brethren thus elected and approved by the Saviour will at once be consecrated *episcopi.* And should one of the *co-episcopi* who are still living be chosen as *episcopus,* he shall thereupon receive an additional ordination.

¶825 The difference between an *episcopus* and a *co-epispus* consists in this: the *episcipus* has power and authority to consecrate other bishops, too; a *co-episcopus,* on the other hand, may ordain only presbyters and deacons. In dealing with circles outside of the church, however, there is no distinction; but in countries where bishops are required a *co-episcopus* demeans himself as a bishop of the Brethren's Church and subscribes himself as such.

¶826 The election of a bishop should properly take place in synod. In case of necessity, however, when such a selection cannot be postponed, the synod of 1775 considered it best—and this view was approved by our dear Lord—that the Unity Elders' Conference should be free to select a bishop under the direction of the Saviour and cause him to be consecrated without prior notice being given about this to the congregational conferences of Elders. *[25] Nevertheless the Unity Elders' Conference will not neglect to notify the congregational conferences of Elders of such an election as soon as possible and in a solemn manner, as befits this matter.

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gies or by the insertion in the litany currently in use of a statement which would indicate the rank intended. A certificate of ordination was to be given the bishop after the service which would also clearly specify it. Moreover it was agreed that a brother could be consecrated an *episcopus* without his having first served as *co-episcopus.*

[24] This star symbol is found exceedingly often in early Moravian records and signifies that the decision so designated had been reached after it had been referred to the lot.

[25] The synod of 1818 recognized the fact that the members of the Unity Elders' Conference, because of their thorough knowledge of the personnel of the ministry, were also best qualified to select new bishops.

¶827 The consecration of a bishop is carried out, when possible, by two or three bishops; in case of necessity, however, it can be done by *one* bishop.

¶828 Ordination as a Lutheran or Reformed minister can by no means stand in the way of the election and consecration of a brother as a bishop of the Brethren's Church; contrariwise consecration as a bishop of the Brethren's Church does not stand in the way of such a brother's acting in conformity to the nature of his earlier ordination, should the case require this.

¶829 Since it has been observed that the expression in our church litany, "Preserve our episcopal office as precious in Thy sight," etc., has not been rightly understood in certain places, the synod of 1782 declared that in connection with this petition the episcopal office was to be understood as that of the brethren who have the vigilance and supervision over the Unity as a whole and in its parts. Thus it is to be intrepreted as applying to the Unity Directing Board and to all the brethren who belong to the conferences of Elders, as clearly appears from the words of St. Paul, Acts 20:28, from which this expression is taken.

This last paragraph is strangely disingenuous; it seems to specify when a bishop is not a bishop! Actually, of course, the Moravians of 1782 were struggling with the carry-over of a prayer that dealt with an office, the character of which had undergone radical transformation since the petition had been incorporated into the devotional forms of the church. During Zinzendorf's later years the bishop *was* charged with the oversight of the flock in the Brethren's Church. When the constitutional synods saw fit to commit this supervision to others, the language of the litany could hardly be forced to mirror this shift in church polity.[26]

The synod of 1789 considered it desirable to hedge the activity of the bishop still more painstakingly.

It must, therefore, be insisted upon that none of our bishops administer ordination without having received an express

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[26] The paragraph from which this petition is quoted read [in the edition of 1773]: "To vouchsafe sound doctrine and holy life to all overseers, pastors and servants of the church and to preserve them therein; to purify all who minister in the sanctuary; to cause all elders to govern well; to preserve our episcopal office as precious in Thy sight, that by it the church of God be fed, which Thou hast purchased with Thine own blood; to bless and watch over those who cherish and nurse Thy church, together with their assistants, . . ."

commission to do so from synod or from the Unity Elders' Conference. Should anyone act arbitrarily in this, he would thereby sever his connection with the Brethren's Unity, because he would have acted contrary to its regulations.

The following note is added to the above paragraph:

In future an ordination certificate shall be made out after each ordination. However in all cases other than those where circumstances make exceptions necessary, these are to be returned to the Unity Elders' Conference, so as both to avoid any possible misuse and also to enable the latter to represent the ministerial acts of the ordaining brother after his decease, should this become necessary.[27]

In the ordination act it is to be expressly stated that the ordination was carried out by commission received from synod or the Unity Elders' Conference. No objection was raised against the Provincial Helpers' Conference in some remote corner of the world receiving permission from the Unity Elders' Conference to commission a bishop to ordain a brother in cases so urgent that the Unity Elders' Conference could not be communicated with.

Further it was recorded that:

This synod considers it necessary to urge that the title "bishop" be used with greater caution both within our own circles and outside of them; that mention should be made of our episcopal prerogatives only where there is good reason to do so.

This synod also offered a new interpretation of the petition in the litany which requested the Lord to preserve the Moravian episcopal office as precious in His sight. "This may properly be understood," so read the results of this synod, "as a prayer that the Saviour would preserve the church orders and the ordination which we have received from the Ancient Brethren, and never permit unworthy bishops to arise, but always grant us such as will lead the church of God into blessed pastures."

One can perhaps see an effort to return to the policy of Zinzendorf's later days, that of uniting the episcopacy with church administration, in the following resolution adopted by the synod of 1848:

A bishop has no diocese committed to his jurisdiction. At

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[27] The synod of 1869 provided that in future the certificate should be given to the brother who had been ordained.

> the same time circumstances render it desirable to consecrate as bishops such brethren as are engaged in the superintendence of the whole church or of a Province; hence the presidents of the different Provincial Helpers' Conferences have generally been bishops.

The following synod, however (that of 1857) modified this statement by the insertion of the word "may," making the phrase to read, "circumstances may render it desirable to consecrate as bishop" etc. The synod of 1869 dropped the whole paragraph.

The fact that a union of administrative and episcopal functions may prove desirable under certain circumstances could not, however, easily be disregarded. In the report of the Provincial Elders' Confernce to the American Provincial Synod, North, in 1898 you find this paragraph:

> With the exception of the period between 1867 and 1878 the Provincial Elders' Conference has not been constituted as has been the case during the past inter-synodal period, the Episcopacy not being represented in the Executive Board of the Province. The experience of the Conferenc during the past five years has impressed upon us the incongruity of not having at least one Bishop in the Board, and we therefore offer the following recommendation: That Synod avoid the error of three previous Synods, by keeping this object in view of the election of the new Provincial Elders' Conference and Bishops.

Later in this synod, the committee on church government contented itself with drawing attention to this recommendation.

In 1825 synod reaffirmed that a bishop could be chosen only by synod or the Unity Elder's Conference, while deacons and presbyters could also be ordained upon authority of a Provincial Helpers' Conference. It also specifically stated what had certainly been implicit before: "That no one shall be consecrated a bishop without express instruction by the lot." As early as 1836 this requirement was modified to read that "the brethren selected by a synod or by the Unity Elders' Conference for consecration as bishops, as a rule require additional approval by lot." It was recognized that with the slow communications then existing this was not always feasible, when the needs of a remote mission field required that the superintendent be consecrated a bishop. The synod of 1857 reaffirmed that "the sanction of the

lot is, as a general rule, required for brethren set apart for episcopal consecration by synod or the Unity Elders' Conference.'' However, the same synod, in dealing with principles governing the general use of the lot, stated: ''Where only one suitable person can be thought of for any office, his acceptance may be asked for without the lot, though in such a case this fact is to be communicated to him and he has the right to ask to have the matter referred to the lot.'' By this date (1857) Provincial Synods had been constituted and final decision regarding the use of the lot in the several Provinces was committed to them. It is interesting to note that as late as 1858 the American Provincial Synod, North, asked that the lot should be resorted to in selecting three brethren for the office of bishop from among the six nominated by the synod for it.

The recognition of the spiritual nature of the episcopacy apparently was a development of the post-Zinzendorfian era. The first hint of this conception found by the writer of this paper is the statement of the synod of 1764—referred to above—''that the Holy Spirit is able to bestow upon such a brother on the occasion of his consecration a rich measure of grace and gifts.'' To this period also belongs the reference contained in the first ''Book of Order'': that the bishop ''is always to be considered a brother on whose heart the welfare of the churches lies in a special manner, since the blessing which was given him in his consecration makes this particularly incumbent upon him.''

By 1879 the church had reached the following insight into the nature of the episcopacy:

> The office of a bishop is, in a peculiar sense, that of an intercessor in the church of God. His function of ordination is intended to be an act based on his own heart's experience, and influencing the hearts of his brethren. Hence, the bishop, in order more effectually to reach the heart of the brother whom he is about to ordain, is, previously to the performance of the rite, to take occasion to converse with him on his spiritual condition and experience, and then afterward to bear him, and not him only, but the whole Brethren's Unity, upon his heart, even as Aaron the High Priest bore the names of the children of Israel upon the breastplate, for a memorial before the Lord continually.

You will notice that thus the responsibility of intercession, which in Zinzendorf's day was withheld from the bishop in favor

of the Elder, is now placed upon the former. No doubt the recognition of this function of the bishop is the origin of the description often given him, the "pastors' pastor." For this title I can find no official authority. But surely the relationship implied by it is the ideal one, a relationship which by the blessing and enabling of the great Bishop of souls has been realized again and again in the history of our church fellowship.

The General Synod of 1857 granted far-reaching delegation of power to the four self dependent Provinces of the Renewed Moravian Church. Quite naturally this affected the evolution of the episcopal office, as it did all other Moravian institutions. The American Provinces received the right to nominate men for consecration as bishops to serve within these Provinces—a privilege later granted to the other Provincial Synods as well. The Provincial Synod of 1858[28] laid down the principle that nomination for the episcopacy should be by ballot and that for this a brother required two-thirds of the vote of the members of synod. The Provincial Synod of 1886 adopted a resolution which limited nomination for the episcopacy to ministers competent to conduct services both in German and English and laid on the Provincial Elders' Conference the unenviable duty of listing the names of all such brethren who qualified, under this provision. Though it apparently was never officially rescinded, obviously this limitation has long since been disregarded. Until 1888 two men were nominated for every post to be filled in the episcopate. In 1898 only two nominees were chosen for as many vacancies, and in 1899 General Synod gave the full responsibility for the election of bishops to the Provincial Synods, though reserving to itself the right to elect bishops to serve in the mission fields.

By that step, however, General Synod did not intend to make the Moravian episcopacy provincial in its nature. Just as the Moravian bishop has no administrative authority in any given area of the church, so because he has no diocese his function extends throughout the world-wide Unity. To give explicit expression to this fact, the Unity Elders' Conference of 1948 adopted the following resolution:

> That, in order to give clearer recognition to the fact that the spiritual leadership of the episcopacy in the Moravian

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[28] I have been unable to find the record of any discussion of the office of the bishop in the synods of the Southern Province. The references which follow in this paper apply therefore to the synods of the North.

> Church is Unity-wide and not just provincial, the Unity Elders' Conference commends to the church in all its self-dependent Provinces the following practice: Whenever in future a bishop shall be elected and consecrated in any Province of the *Unitas Fratrum*, each of the other self-dependent Provinces through its respective Provincial Elders' Conference, shall be invited to associate itself expressly with the act of the sister Province by voting formally to recognize that the episcopal functions of the brother so elected and consecrated extend through its confines as well.

The constitution of the American Province, North, for a long time stipulated that the president of the Provincial Synod was to be chosen from among the bishops of the Province, if any were in attendance at synod. Proposed by the Provincial Synod of 1856, this clause was adopted by General Synod of 1857, though through an oversight the printed "Results" of this synod did not contain this enactment. It remained in force until the Provincial Synod of 1930—though it seems again to have been inadvertently omitted from the revised constitution adopted by the Provincial Synod of 1913. Bishops of the Northern Province, by action of the Provincial Synod of 1870, were made ex-officio voting members of all District Synods within the Province, their expenses incurred in this connection, being borne by the Province at large, as were those of the members of the Provincial Elders' Conference. In 1913, however, the Provincial Synod restricted the ex-officio membership of bishops to the synods of the District in which each resided.

The American Province, North, has also made it a rather consistent practice to commit to its bishops, either alone, or in conjunction with others, the task of formulating statements which bear upon doctrine. The following actions of Provincial Synod indicate this. In 1868 synod commissioned the bishops to revise the questions addressed to presbyters and deacons at their ordination. In 1876 it authorized them to draw up a circular embodying the teachings of Scripture and of the church on the subject of local congregational government and to issue such circulars in future as frequently as they considered this necessary. In 1884 synod appointed the bishops a committee to revise the questions addressed to candidates for confirmation. In 1888 it called on the bishops to prepare a tract on church discipline in both English and German. In 1893 it referred to Provincial Elders' Conference and the bishops the task of formulating the

church's position on divorce. In 1898 it asked the bishops to revise the questions addressed to candidates for adult baptism. This commission was repeated in 1913 and extended to include a further revision of the questions publicly addressed to confirmands. In 1936 synod appointed the bishops a committee to study the proposal made by the British Province on a restatement of the doctrinal position of the Moravian Church. The same synod commissioned Provincial Elders' Conference and the bishops to exercise supervision over the policies of the Board of Christian Education in publishing the *Moravian* and the *Moravian Missionary*—a commission withdrawn by the synod of 1951. The synod of 1936 also empowered the bishops to make the needed alterations in the wording of that portion of the Easter Morning Litany which referred to baptism, alterations which had been requested by the Executive Board of the Canadian District. And to the consideration of Provincial Elders' Conference and the bishops this synod also referred a memorial relating to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the participation of the Moravian Church in it. The synod of 1946 asked the four bishops who attended it to prepare a pronouncement on the state of religion for distribution in the congregations. The synod of 1951 entrusted the bishops of the province with the supervision of guided study to be undertaken by the deacons during the first five years following their ordination. It also appointed the bishops a committee on the spiritual life of the church and asked them to prepare a booklet embodying questions to be used in self examination and setting up standards by which "membership in good standing" could be judged, together with questions suitable to be put to applicants for church membership. Similarly the inter-provincial Quincentennial Committee asked the bishops of both provinces to set the spiritual goals for the anniversary celebration. There remain a number of traditions or customs associated with the office of bishop, passing reference to which should not be omitted in this paper even at the risk of their appearing as an anti-climax to the subjects discussed above.

In the Zinzendorfian period bishops commonly wore a purple skull cap, though this is not to be thought of as having constituted an official symbol of their rank. They also, without exception, wore the red girdle over the white surplice when officiating at ordinations. Since, however, all ministers who presided at the

Holy Communion wore a similar girdle prior to 1769, it could not properly be considered a distinguishing mark of the bishop. Indeed to the writer of this paper the very fact that the Moravian bishop has no official vestment distinguishing him from his brethren, constitutes one important expression of the central concept of brotherhood in the Renewed Moravian Church.

In the American Provinces the bishop is customarily asked to pronounce the benediction in any service in the conduct of which he has taken part. Similarly the rubrics of our church ritual provide that bishops shall be called upon to officiate, when it is convenient for them to do so, at the laying of the cornerstone of a church edifice or at the consecration or dedication of church buildings. And, to give concrete expression to the position maintained by our church, namely that the bishop fills his office so long as he lives and need not resign from it when the mental and physical effects of old age make it advisable for him to retire from any other position which he may hold in the ministry, the Daily Text Book of our Province records the names of our bishops in a separate list, preceding the lists of other active or retired brethren.

Finally it may be of interest to note the historic reason why in the American Provinces on the occasion of their ordination deacons and presbyters are required publicly to affirm their belief in the Holy Scriptures as the only rule of faith and conduct recognized in the Moravian Church and to pledge allegiance to the rules and regulations of the church which they serve, while the bishop answers no public questions at his consecration. The Northern Provincial Synod of 1861 officially proposed that such affirmations and pledges be required of deacons, presbyters, and of bishops alike at their ordination or consecration. The Unity Elders' Conference, however, in reviewing this resolution ruled that it transcended the constitutional prerogatives of Provincial Synod. Therefore the Provincial Synod of 1864 reconsidered this proposal and agreed that in seeking to make such a regulation apply to the consecration of a bishop Provincial Synod had acted *ultra vires,* since the election of bishops was then the sole prerogative of General Synod or of the Unity Elders' Conference.

A study of the episcopal office in the Renewed Moravian Church cannot but emphasize how far the Moravian conception of the function of the bishop has deviated from the traditional, monarchical view of the episcopacy. Not all members or clergy

within our communion have been able conscientiously to approve this development. The writer of this paper, however, belongs to those who believe that our church is destined to make a distinctive and valuable contribution to the church at large by the concept of an episcopacy dedicated to purely spiritual leadership. This does not mean, of course, that the episcopacy within our communion has necessarily reached the full and final stage of its development as yet. Periodically proposals have been advanced advocating wider use of this heritage which is ours. As recently as 1951 Provincial Synod adopted the following resolution:

> Whereas, the episcopate is the highest degree in the orders of the Moravian ministry, and valued as a sacred heritage and a bond uniting the Moravian Church with the church of apostolic days, and
>
> Whereas, there is a felt need of strengthening the bond and influence of the episcopate within the Moravian Church of today, and
>
> Whereas, the episcopate of our day has been in many instances handicapped by administrative duties imposed, and the lack of financial provision for carrying out their true functions as Bishops in our churches, therefore be it
>
> Resolved: that in our planning for the next Provincial Synod this be taken into account and efforts be made to provide means for the episcopate of our province adequate to carry out the functions of their office as spiritual leaders.

To Jesus Christ, in Whom our church fellowship has learned to confide as its living Head and Chief Elder, the future of its episcopacy, too, can safely be committed by us. Therefore our study of this subject may fittingly close with the ascription of praise voiced in the doxology chanted at the consecration of each new member of our episcopate:

> Glory be to the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls,
> The great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant:
> Glory and obedienec be unto God the Holy Ghost, our Guide and Comforter;
> Glory and adoration be to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,
> Who is the Father of all who are called children on earth and in heaven.
>
> O might each pulse thanksgiving beat,
> And every breath His praise repeat.
>
> Amen. Hallelujah. Hallelujah. Amen. Hallelujah.

97TH ANNUAL MEETING

of the

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 14, 1954

The annual session in the Museum of the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pa. was called to order by the President Bishop S. H. Gapp at 10 A.M. with 22 members present.

The minutes of the annual meeting of Oct. 8, 1953, having been approved by the Executive Committee, by common consent were not read.

Walter Peters reported on the improvement of the exterior of the Whitefield House by recent painting and the preservation of the interior hall way, stairs, etc. which also had been painted.

The Treasurer's Annual Financial Statement was presented as follows and approved.

Cash on hand:		
Checking Account October 6, 1953	$ 1,859.11	
Nazareth National Interest Account	721.21	
Second National Interest Account	901.05	
		$ 3,481.37
Receipts:		
Vesper	$ 137.50	
Annual Subscriptions	380.00	
Interest	842.50	
Life Memberships	120.00	
Sale of Publications	330.98	
Museum Gift Box	190.23	
For Haidt Painting Restoration	1,410.00	
Government Bonds Matured	1,110.00	
Sale of Wardrobe	10.00	
Right of Way-Indian Cemetery	250.00	
Total	$ 4,781.21	$ 4,781.21
		$ 8,262.58

Disbursements:

Vesper Expenses	$ 168.93	
Salaries	300.00	
Postage & Envelopes	45.24	
Register of Copyright	4.00	
Hope, N. J. Cemetery maintenance	25.00	
Flowers	10.10	
Young's Press Printing	4.00	
Globe Times-Printing Vol. 15	2,962.40	
Safe Deposit Box Rent	3.60	
Penna. Historical Society Dues	4.00	
Insurance on Paintings	68.33	
Restoration of Paintings & Photo Painting	1,170.00	
Insurance	10.00	
Printing Publications	57.64	
1/3 Cost of Painting Whitefield House	211.00	
Painting Interior Whitefield House	181.98	
Refunds on Haidt Painting	15.00	
	$ 5,241.22	$ 5,241.22
Cash on Hand October 5, 1954		$ 3,021.36

Investments:

Lehigh Valley Annuity Bonds	$ 2,000.00
Second National Bank Stock	1,000.00
Government Bonds	11,500.00
	$14,500.00

Helen Bell Memorial	$ 3,000.00
Monroe County Memorial	96.17
Zeisberger Memorial	257.00
Publication Fund	3,079.43
Rest House Fund	230.45
Eugene Rau Estate	5,000.00
A. Brodhead Estate	500.00
Excess Investments	2,336.95
	$14,500.00

Resources:

Cash	$ 3,021.39
Investments	14,500.00
Publication Committee	6,149.90
	$23,671.29

Museum Gift Box	$ 238.16
Graveyard Fund	12.81
Haidt Painting	225.00
Trust Funds	12,163.05
Stock Account	11,032.27
	$23,671.29

WILLIAM E. HENRY
Treasurer

Examined and found correct
ANDREW G. KERN
FRANK R. HUTH
Auditors

The Secretary William E. Henry, who had been serving as secretary and treasurer, submitted a letter of resignation as secretary. The letter referred to his impaired hearing as a hindrance to this part of the work and thanked all for their co-operation and tolerance during his 29 years of secretaryship. The resignation was accepted and the president for the society expressed his regrets that this action seemed necessary and extended gratitude to Mr. Henry for his faithful and very efficient service.

On report of the Nominating Committee the following were nominated and elected unanimously:

President: The Rt. Rev. S. Gapp, *Vice Presidents:* Rev. E. S. Hagen, The Rt. Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Prof. H. H. Beck, Rev. John R. Weinlick, Andrew Kern.

Secretary: William H. Kortz, *Treasurer:* William E. Henry, *Librarian:* The Rev. Edward H. Swavely. *Board of Managers:* Robert J. Desh, John E. Leibfried, Robert S. Taylor, Jr., Walter L. Peters, Rev. Henry L. Williams.

Publication Committee: Rev. R. H. Brennecke, The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Henry B. Rau, Rev. John R. Weinlick. *Library Committee:* Walter Peters, George

W. Hahn, Dr. Samuel Zeller, Miss G. Elizabeth Bahnsen, Rev. John R. Weinlick, Mrs. Walter Peters, Rev. E. H. Swavely, Gerhard Zeller, Mrs. Nathan Brobst, Stephen O. Woodruff. *Graveyard Committee:* Robert F. Ziegler, George W. Hahn, J. Frederick Knecht, Frank Seyfried.

Mrs. Andrew Leh introduced the matter of making a stipulated charge for admission to the Museum and suggested a charge of 50¢ per person. On motion the matter was referred to the Board of Managers with instructions to report at the January Executive Committee meeting for their action at this time.

It was moved to appoint a Special By-Laws Committee for consideration of revision of the By-Laws for action at the next annual meeting. A communication was received from Blaine R. Gantz, Mt. Joy, Pa. asking for financial help to macadamize a drive way into that part of the Donegal-Mt. Joy-Milton Grove Cemetery which was once a Moravian Burying Ground. This was referred to the Graveyard Committee.

The following were proposed for membership and elected:

Life Member: Miss Marion Masland, Philadelphia, Pa.

Active Members: Rev. Ferdinand Drebert, Marie Drebert, Kermit R. Knecht, Katherine Schmuekle, Emma E. Schmuekle, Stephen Woodruff, Nazareth, Pa. Clarence Henkleman, David Horsman, Mrs. Charlotte McGeehan, Burton Rights, Bethlehem, Pa.

Associate Members: Ralph G. Schwarz, Bethlehem, Pa.

The following report of the Publications Committee was received and accepted and Rev. Robert Brennecke given an expression of thanks in appreciation of his splendid work as chairman of this committee.

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

Your committee on Publication is happy to be able to-day to offer to the members of the society Part I of Volume XVI of the Transactions, which has just come from the printer. After the heavy expense involved in publishing Vol. XV, with its 423 pages last year, we were very glad to accept the courteous offer of Mr. Leslie R. Gray, of London, Ontario, of reprints of the "Diary of J. Heckewelder and Benjamin Mortimer's Journey from Bethlehem, Pa. to Fairfield, Ontario in 1798" which he had edited for the Ontario Historical Society. The original diary

reposes in our Moravian Provincial Archives. Your Committee requests that the society give Mr. Leslie R. Gray an official vote of thanks.

Because this year is the centennial of the death of that outstanding Moravian hymn-writer, James Montgomery, your committee thought it only fitting that we should at this time publish the very excellent study of "The Hymns of James Montgomery" prepared by the Rev. John H. Johansen and put at our disposal. The third paper included in our present publication is Bishop Kenneth Hamilton's very interesting study of "The Office of the Bishop in the Renewed Moravian Church."

Dr. Herbert H. Beck's paper on "William Henry: Patriot, Master Gunsmith, Progenitor of the Steamboat" is being held over for publication in Part II of Vol. XVI. We are also in possession of a paper by Brother Johansen on: "John Gambold: Poet and Moravian Bishop" as well as Dean Couillard's thesis on: "The Theology of John Cennick."

It may be seriously questioned whether even the members of this society fully realize the really great and lasting contribution which is being made to historical records by the publication of our Transactions. We are thoroly convinced that the general reading public has not been made sufficiently acquainted with these valuable historical studies. This is a great pity.

Now it is a fact that no listing of the papers published by the society has appeared in print since 1912—42 years ago! At that time the society printed a four-page leaflet giving the titles of papers which had appeared in the first nine volumes of Transactions. There are several hundred copies of this leaflet in our library where they are of no value to anyone and most members of the society have never even seen one of them.

One member of the Publication Committee has suggested that it would be a very valuable thing for us to compile a rather complete index of all papers published by this society in the past 97 years and give it wide distribution not only among members but also among other historical societies, public and private libraries, etc. I wish to pass this suggestion on to this annual meeting for consideration. The expense involved in such an undertaking would be very small and it might very well create a new and greater demand for back numbers of our Transactions. We have thousands of dollars tied up in these back numbers and they

are not serving the purpose for which they were printed and for which the society exists.

If a pamphlet containing the suggested information were to be printed and a copy of it given to every visitor of our museum and library and otherwise distributed widely we might gain a large number of friends and patrons.

I must not neglect to express our great appreciation of the very excellent reviews and notices of "Early Moravian Education in Pa." which appeared in the Allentown, Bethlehem and Nazareth papers. We were not as successful in getting publicity in periodicals of more general circulation.

Provision has been made for members of the society who shall attend to-day's Vesper to pick up their copies of the current number of Transactions either before or after the Vesper, at the church. This procedure will save a considerable amount of postage.

Respectfully submitted by the Publication Committee,

Robert H. Brennecke, *Chairman*
Bishop S. H. Gapp
Bishop Kenneth G. Hamilton
Henry B. Rau
Dr. John R. Weinlick

A report from the Library Committee was received and a vote of thanks extended to the Curator, Rev. Edward Swavely for this and his many services to the Society. The report follows in condensed form:

The Museum has been visited by more people and has been the source of more favorable comment than ever before since the present Curator has been in charge. 1062 visitors were registered and $198.05 was dropped in the contribution box during the past year.

The main project for 1954 has been the restoration of the Haidt Paintings and we rejoice that seven have now been completed and grace our walls. They and their contributors are:

Descent from the Cross.....Mr. and Mrs. William E. Henry
Adoration of the Wise Men.....Miss Pauline Detterer
(Small) Descent from the Cross....Mr. and Mrs. Walter L. Peters
Christ before Pilate.....Miss Pauline Detterer
John Jacob Schmick.....Mr. and Mrs. Walter L. Peters
Johanna Schmick.....Mr. and Mrs. Walter L. Peters

In addition to the above, pledges have been received for additional restorations from the Women's Fellowship of the Central Moravian Church, Bethlehem; The Junior Womens' Club of Nazareth.

The violin of John Antes, made by him in Bethlehem in 1759, has been gratuitously restored to playing condition by the Martin Guitar Co. of Nazareth, Pa. An early Martin guitar has been presented to the Society by the world famous Martin Guitar Co. This instrument was made by Christian Frederick Martin, Sr. in his shop in Cherry Hill in 1845. A vote of thanks has been extended to C. Frederick Martin for these gifts.

The Hesselius Organ is being restored to playing condition by the Moeller Pipe Organ Co.

Cataloging and indexing of books and manuscripts has been begun by Miss G. Elizabeth Bahnsen under the able guidance of Mrs. Virgil Easton, a librarian. Miss Bahnsen is thanked for her self sacrificing labor. Her efficiency in the German script is invaluable to the Society.

Fine miniatures, portraits of Rev. Benjamin LaTrobe and Rev. John Gambold, have been expertly framed by courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Peters. Mr. Peters also presented the Society with a loose leaf accessions book which is now being put to use.

The following books are acknowledged with gratitude to Mrs. Warwick A. Shaw, 1615 Hinman Ave., Evanston, Ill. A Brief History of the Moravian Church by Sunday School Teachers and Friends of Winston-Salem, N. C., A History of Bethlehem by Levering, A Book of Remembrance by Oerter, The Road to Salem by Meyer, History of Graceham by Oerter, Moravian History by Reichel, History of Nazareth-1940.

After all bills were ordered paid, the meeting adjourned and the members present attended the

Vesper Meeting at 1 P.M.
at the Nazareth Moravian Church

As has been customary, the members and guests were greeted by the playing of Moravian chorales by the Nazareth Moravian Trombone Choir on the church lawn before the luncheon. The President Bishop S. H. Gapp presided at this meeting with about

180 members and guests present. Grace was sung accompanied by the Trombone Choir. The luncheon was served by members of the Nazareth Moravian Church after which a hymn was sung in memory of those who had passed on to their eternal reward during the past year. The President read the names of these former members: Mr. Clarence E. Beckel, Mrs. Eugenia M. Meilicke, Mrs. Arthur D. Thaeler, Rev. Rufus F. Bishop, Dr. Edwin J. Heath, Miss Emily Hartzell. Mr. William A. Rex Schultze.

Dr. John H. Weinlick, Professor of Historical Theology at Moravian Theological Seminary, was presented as the speaker for the occasion. He presented a paper on "The Moravian Diaspora" a study of the Moravian Societies in churches of other denominations in Europe.

Prof. Weinlick explained that the word "Diaspora" meant scattered. They were scattered to spread the Gospel and held that the more awakened the scattered were, the better it served the Lord's purposes. The early members of the Diaspora shared their material blessings also with those with whom they shared their religious experience. The Diaspora was to be in contact only in spirit with the Moravian Church. He pointed out that true Christian union is spiritual rather than organizational. This Diaspora had a profound effect upon the Moravian Church in America.

Progress in the program of restoring paintings by John Valentine Haidt was reported by Walter Peters at the luncheon. He exhibited one of the restored paintings at this Vesper. An offering for this purpose was taken resulting in over $200.00.

One of the features of the Vesper was two selections played by Mrs. Edwin Kortz on the old Antes Violin made in 1759 which had been reconditioned by the C. F. Martin Guitar Co. in Nazareth.

The day's meetings closed with the singing of a Moravian hymn.

William H. Kortz
Secretary

In Memoriam

Clarence Eberman Beckel

was born on November 20, 1880, and died on April 24, 1954. He joined the society as a life-member in 1908.

The Rev. Rufus F. Bishop

was born in Bethlehem, Pa., on January 20, 1889, and died on December 10, 1954. After spending most of his life as a missionary in Nicaragua, he joined the society as an active member in 1949.

Miss Emily Hartzell

was born in Nazareth, Pa., on February 23, 1869, and died on January 31, 1954. Since she had joined the society in 1894, she had been an active member for sixty years.

The Rev. Edwin J. Heath, D.D., LL.D.

was born on the island of St. John, D.W.I., on December 27, 1880, and died at Sea Girt, New Jersey on October 24, 1953. He became an active member of the society in 1925.

Mrs. Eugenia A. M. Meilicke

(Mrs. C. A. Meilicke) was born at Lewiston, Minn., on December 20, 1872, and died at Bethlehem, Pa., on August 16, 1954. She joined the society as a life-member in 1938.

Edmund L. Oerter

joined the society in 1951 as an active member. He died on December 9, 1954 in Philadelphia, Pa.

William A. Rex Schultze

was born in Bethlehem, Pa., on March 29, 1873, and died in Philadelphia on March 30, 1954. He had become an active member in 1897.

Mrs. Arthur D. Thaeler (nee' Ruth Schropp)

was born in Bethlehem, Pa., on September 8, 1871, and died in Arlington, N. J., on August 23, 1954. She had been a life-member since 1887.

A. A. Woodring

was born in Georgetown (near Nazareth), Pa., on December 15, 1859, and died in Bethlehem, Pa., on December 7, 1954. He had been active-member of the society.

WILLIAM HENRY

Patriot, Master Gunsmith, Progenitor of the Steamboat

By Herbert H. Beck

No man of Lancaster, Pa. was more prominent in the affairs of his times than William Henry. Leader in civic and national affairs, master gunsmith in the period when Lancaster was making rifles new to the world, inventive mechanic whose application of steam to navigation turned the trend of ship building, William Henry was a national figure. The potentialities of the man were abridged only by the brevity of his life. The brilliant candle of his energetic career burned too strong. He died at the age of fifty-seven.

Even though in the documentary records of Lancaster County no name appears more frequently, between 1750 and 1786, than that of William Henry, nothing has been written of this illustrious man, except incidentally, by local historians for the records of the Lancaster County Historical Society. In 1907 John W. Jordan, then president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, read a brief paper before the Lancaster County Historical Society on his great-great-grandfather William Henry. In 1910 John W. Jordan's brother, Francis Jordan, Jr., published "The Life of William Henry,"[1] which is the most comprehensive and the best work on the subject. These two Jordans of Philadelphia had between them great numbers of the papers and documentary records of their ancestor and their work, on the whole, may be considered authentic.

In several of his papers on related subjects, the late Judge Charles I. Landis, a former president of the Lancaster County Historical Society, and always accurate in his historical records, through his research, chiefly in the documents in the Lancaster County Courthouse, has corrected certain minor errors in the publications of the Jordans and other writers on William Henry. Assisted by these records of Judge Landis and by his own research, the writer has been able to collect some valuable material on his subject which was not used or was entirely missed by the Jordans. Both of these, especially Francis Jordan, Jr. (1843-1911), will frequently be quoted in this record.

Through the bonds of friendship between six generations of his family and the descendants of William Henry, the writer feels

close to his subject. Ever since the 1770-1780 period, when the writer's great-great-grandfather, Bernhard Adam Grubé, then a Moravian pastor at Lititz, Pa., affectionately referred in his diary to "Brother Billy Henry of Lancaster"; ever since, in 1771, the same musicianly Grubé taught young Bill Henry (a) to play the primitive piano of the day; through the Jordans of Philadelphia and the Henrys of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, the writer's family and the descendants of William Henry have always been close friends.

Ancestry, Early Life and Residences.

William Henry was of Scotch and French ancestry. His grandparents, Robert and Mary Ann Henry, had come from Coleraine, Ireland, in 1722, and settled in West Caln Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Coming from Coleraine they must have been of the so-called Scotch-Irish. Of their sons, John, the oldest, married, in 1728, Elizabeth DeVinne, of a Huegenot family who had settled nearby the Henry plantation. John Henry died in 1747 leaving two sons and three daughters, of whom William was the oldest. This William Henry was born May 19, 1729. Francis Jordan says: "It was the cherished hope of the father that his children should enjoy as thorough scholastic training as his means

(a) Lititz Church Diary. June 27, 1771. "The great boy (Gr. Knabe) Bill Henry of Lancaster came to Brother Albrecht for an apprenticeship in riflemaking, accordingly he will remain here as a member." (Translation by Herbert H. Beck.)

This was William Henry's oldest son, born in 1757. As a fourteen-year-old lad he would be called a "great boy" to indicate his position between the Children's and the Brethren's Choirs. During the writer's youth at Lititz the terms "great boy" and "great girl" were still in use in the Moravian Congregation.

Büchse is the word used for Brother Albrecht's (sometimes Albright) trade, which is significant, for Büchse means rifle, not gun. By 1771 Lancaster rifles had become famous throughout the colonies.

It is interesting that gunsmith William Henry of Lancaster sent his fourteen-year-old son to nearby Lititz for an apprenticeship in his own trade. Doubtless young Bill Henry got some education at the Lititz Brethren's House beyond his training as a gunsmith, just as he was taught music by Brother Grubé. (John W. Jordan.)

For a reason, explained in the Church Diary, Bill Henry was sent to the congregation at Nazareth before he had completed his apprenticeship with Andrew Albright (1718-1802).

The latter is recorded in "The Moravian Graveyards of Lititz "(Abraham R. Beck) as a gunsmith.

Herbert H. Beck, son of Abraham R. Beck, is archivist of the Lititz Moravian Congregation.

and the best local institutions provided, but his early death and the insufficiency of his estate compelled his widow to send William at the age of fifteen to Lancaster, where he was apprenticed to Matthew Roesser, a gunsmith.'' John W. Jordan says: ''William started his active career in Lancaster about 1748.''

''At the age of fifteen'' would have brought William Henry to Lancaster in 1744, before his mother had become a widow. It seems evident that William was sent to Lancaster by his father. ''The insufficiency of the estate'' seems to have been an established fact of several years prior to 1747. Five-year apprenticeships, from other local evidence, were usually started when the apprentice was about fifteen. Francis Jordan says: ''Henry's mechanical aptitude made him an ideal apprentice as in 1750, when but twenty-one years of age, he engaged in making arms on his own account.'' Two years, from 1748 to 1750, would have been too short a period to learn a trade, therefore 1744 must be accepted as the year William Henry came to Lancaster. At that time Matthew Roesser was a well-established and probably the leading gunsmith in Lancaster.[2]

Apparently many young men of those days started their trade when they ''came of age.'' Witness Philip Lefevre (1710-1766), who most probably served his apprenticeship with his neighbor in West Lampeter Township, Martin Meylin (1670-1749), and started his trade as a gunsmith in 1731.[3]

With little doubt William Henry lived at the home of his master, Matthew Roesser, at the northeast corner of West King and Concord Streets, from 1744 to 1749.[4] There was usually a written agreement between the apprentice and his master by which the latter lodged and fed his apprenticed servant. Afterward, certainly in 1754, he was a tenant of Leonard Bender. Leonard Bender owned two properties: one on the west side of the first block of North Queen Street, near Orange (third lot from the corner), the other on the south side of East Orange Street, at the southwest corner of that street and what is now Jefferson Alley.[5] Which of these Henry occupied is not known, probably the former. In 1756 he became a tenant of Isaac Whitelock, who had lots on East Orange Street, between North Queen and North Duke streets. In 1759 he occupied a house belonging to John Woods, the exact position of which cannot be found.[6]

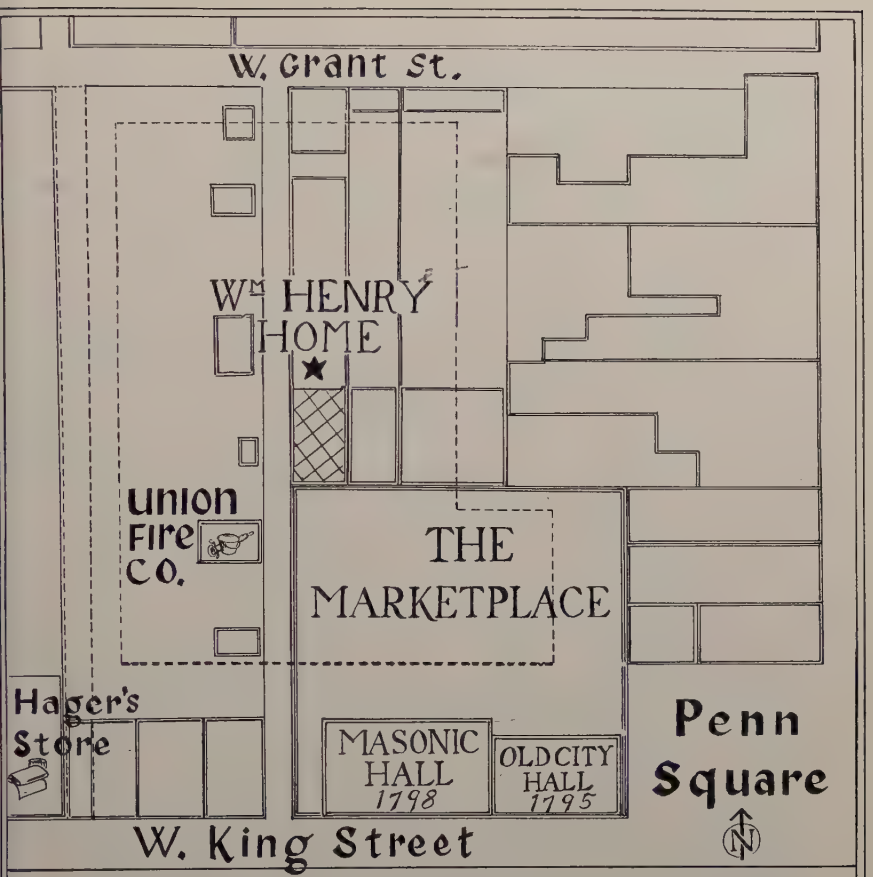
It was during his occupancy of the house of Isaac Whitelock, in the first block of East Orange Street, that William Henry

married Ann Wood. Though Francis Jordan records this event as of January, 1755, it was probably a year later. John W. Jordan, Judge Landis and the Burial Book of the Lancaster Moravian Church (1744-1821) all record the marriage of William Henry to Ann Wood as 1756. It was not, however, until 1765 that the married couple joined the Moravian Church. Ann Henry, whose antecedents were Quakers, had persuaded her husband to join her to hear Bishop Boehler, whose eloquence won them over to the Moravians. Prior to that William Henry had been a member of St. James' Epsicopal Church.[7]

Francis Jordan says: "His business prospered as within a short time he built a commodious house on the public square, the most eligible site in the town, which he occupied with his mother and widowed sister and where the former died in 1777." Modifying this statement, the documents in the Recorder's office show that on February 7, 1760, Alexander Stedman conveyed to William Henry, in consideration of £350, "all that piece or parcel of ground situate in the Borough of Lancaster, containing in breadth in front to Market Square 22 feet 2 inches, together with the brick dwelling house and kitchen erected and standing thereon and running the same breadth 125 feet to a 14-foot alley." According to Judge Landis, in the original front of this house there were said to have been two windows and a door, and William Henry made some improvements on the house as soon as he obtained possession. But a brick house was evidently on the lot when Henry bought that piece of land.

It is not unlikely that he enlarged the house from a one and a half story house, the most common type of house of the period in Lancaster, into the two and a half story dwelling, which it certainly was during his occupancy. This property is better defined when it was sold: "Sold on May 26, 1809, to William Kirkpatrick by the executors (at that time the oldest sons, William and John Joseph Henry) the property situate on the north side of Market Square in the Borough of Lancaster, and including a 2-story brick building, containing a front 22 ft. and 2 inches and in depth to a 14-ft. wide alley 125 ft. bounded on the west by a 14 ft. wide alley and on the north by another 14 ft. wide alley, on the east by ground of Jonas Metzgar and on the south by Market Square."[8]

This record would place Henry's lot and house on the western side of the lots acquired by the City of Lancaster in 1854 and on



MAP SHOWING SITE OF EARLY MARKET AND HOME OF Wm HENRY

---- DOTTED LINES INDICATE PRESENT MARKET STREET & CENTRAL MARKET

M. L. HEISEY & J. W. W. LOOSE CT'GS

1950

which the Central Market House now stands. His two and a half story brick house, probably with a front the entire width of the lot, 22 ft. 2 inches, therefore stood opposite the northwest corner of the original Market Square. The Market Square, which this house faced, was a tract of ground, 120 ft. by 120 ft.;[9] "Deeded by Andrew Hamilton May 16, 1730, for the keeping, erecting and holding a market within the Town of Lancaster."

During Henry's lifetime that tract of land surrounded by Penn Square to the east, West King Street to the south, a 14-foot alley to the west and a 14-foot alley to the north—that curious corner of Penn Square so different from the rest—was used for its designed purpose, "keeping, erecting and holding a market." He lived in this house from 1760 to 1786.

While attending the Congress in New York in 1785, Colonel Henry was taken with a lung disorder which compelled his return to Lancaster. Here his illness became acute and he died December 15, 1786. From his home his pallbearers must have carried him the 125 yards through Moravian Alley to the Moravian Church, where the services were held. Then the procession moved another 150 yards to the burial place in the Moravian Graveyard. (b) All his life in Lancaster, from 1744 to 1786, William Henry had lived within two and a half blocks of Penn Square; and within this same central part of the town he found his final residence.

Business Career

Francis Jordan says that in 1750 William Henry formed a partnership with Joseph Simon of whom it is recorded, "He was a wealthy Jew of high character, the ancestor of three prominent Hebrew families in Philadelphia." Later he says "this partnership was dissolved in 1759." Judge Landis has made an important correction here. Quoting him: "In his autobiography, writ-

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(b) The Moravian Graveyard, which occupied the southern part of the lots at the southeast corner of North Prince and West Chestnut Streets, was purchased from the Trustees of the Lancaster Moravian Church by the Government, in 1917, for $35,000. In 1930 the Post Office was built on its northern portion. The remains of the burials were removed to Greenwood Cemetery in South Lancaster.

The writer remembers the grave of William Henry, aside of that of his wife, near the southwest corner of the graveyard. The stone was readable from Prince Street. With Matthew Roesser, William Henry, Peter Ganter, Jacob Dickert, and many other famous riflemakers buried there, the original Moravian Graveyard was a classic spot in the history of the American rifle.

ten three weeks before his death, Henry said: 'In 1759 I closed my partnership in the hardware business with a gentleman of Lancaster (Joseph Simon), and this is the reason why I made my voyage to England.' What he meant was that he closed the bargain and entered into the partnership in 1759. He sailed for England in 1760 on the ship *Friendship*. He arrived home the latter part of December, 1761.''[10]

In the *Philadelphia Gazette* of February 11, 1762, the following advertisement appeared: ''Simon and Henry advertize a new cargo by the latest vessels at their Hardware Store in Lancaster next door to Slough's Tavern.''[11] Again in the *Gazette:* ''Lancaster, February, 1762. Just imported by the latest vessels from England by Simon and Henry, and to be sold cheap for cash or short credit at their Hardware Store at the Corner of King Street, next door to Matthias Slough's Tavern, near the Courthouse, in Lancaster, Ironmongers' goods, locks, etc.''[12]

It is evident from these records that ''the reason he made the voyage to England'' was because he had someone in Lancaster, his partner Joseph Simon, to look after his business. The ''Hardware Store'' property referred to in these advertisements, ''At the corner of King Street, next door to Matthias Slough's Tavern, near the Courthouse (which was then in the center of Penn Square)'' at this time, 1762, belonged to David Franks. On April 6, 1764, Franks sold it to Joseph Simon. Until that time Simon and Henry must have occupied it as renters. This partnership was in existence on December 30, 1776, as appears by a receipt for Col. Biddle signed by Simon and Henry (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.) Advertisements show that Simon was also in partnership with Levy in 1775.[13]

''Henry found his private interests in dealing with war materials incompatible with his public duty, and for that reason dissolved his partnership with Simon at the opening of the Revolution.''[14] This business of William Henry with Joseph Simon (c), conducted for about nineteen years, was evidently in general hardware and Indian trade material. Doubtless this included guns of Henry's own make; probably, too, those of other local

(c) Joseph Simon (1709-1801), who is buried in Cemetery Shaari Shomoyim, East Liberty Street, Lancaster, Pa., had an Indian trader's license, sometimes carrying his trade into Western Pennsylvania. Judged by the elaborate and ornate character of his gravestone (large flat stone covered originally by plate glass) Joseph Simon died a rich man.

gunsmiths. It evidently was a profitable business. But to have been able to pay £350 for a house and lot and to take an expensive trip to England in 1760, William Henry must have been doing a prosperous business of his own before he joined the financially successful partnership with Simon in 1759. In the decade following 1750 William Henry, as Armorer for the Pennsylvania Militia, must have been making guns in considerable and profitable numbers.

Young Benjamin West, when in 1756 he painted the picture of his sponsor, William Henry, holding a rifle, did so evidently to show his subject as a master gunsmith. In that decade the manufacture of rifles in Lancaster County had taken on large proportions. William Henry must have had many workmen and apprentice servants in his employ. Also during this decade Henry was evidently doing business apart from gunmaking. John W. Jordan says: "In 1750 he embarked in business on his own account as a gunmaker and dealer in hardware and supplies for the Indian traders." It is likely that he had rented and used for the sale of hardware and Indian trader goods, sometime before 1759, that same store "aside of Matthias Slaugh's Tavern," which after that date was conducted by Simon and Henry. That in itself was a lucrative business. Doubtless he made guns for his Indian trade. But wherever he had this shop, it is evident that its business was an important factor in making him financially able to buy one of the best properties in Lancaster and to go to England in 1760.

But where was William Henry's gunshop? Some writers have placed it on his property on Penn Square, which he obtained in 1760, though with a brick house and a kitchen at the south end of a 125 ft. lot, only 22 ft. wide, there could not have been a large building in the rear. Nor is there a record of a gunshop back of the dwelling house, when that property was sold in 1809. After elaborate research in the Lancaster County Courthouse, Judge Landis concludes that the lot on which he lived was the only land William Henry ever owned within the Borough of Lancaster[15] He must have leased or rented a gunshop somewhere in or near Lancaster.

When he started his trade in 1750 water power was used by many of those early gunsmiths for forging, boring and grinding their gun-barrels and it is likely that at least part of Henry's general factory was along the nearby Conestoga or Mill Creeks.

Unfortunately no documents exist, or at least have not been found, which can show definitely where William Henry made his guns. Francis Jordan says: "To meet this demand (for arms at the beginning of the Revolution), which was pressing from every quarter, Henry's gun works located on Mill Creek, outside the Borough of Lancaster, where what is known to-day (1910) as the 'Old Factory Road' crosses that stream, and the best equipped in the colonies, were working night and day to their utmost capacity, and the Board of War, realizing the gravity of the situation and the importance of keeping his works in uninterrupted operation, exempted his workman from liability to military duty." (d) There is no doubt of the location of the gunshop as described thus. There is only one place where the Old Factory Road, as of 1910, crosses Mill Creek.

But where did Francis Jordan learn of this site on land that was certainly never owned by Henry? Probably from some local source. In the preface to his work Jordan gives credit to but one local historian, Dr. Frank R. Diffenderffer. Diffenderffer (1833-1921) was a former president of the Lancaster County Historical Society and a careful historian. He told the writer that his grandfather, David Diffenderffer (1752-1846), as an old man, had dramatically related to him how he and other boys of the town—he from the Leopard Hotel which his father kept on East Street—had run to the jailyard on Prince Street to see among the bloody corpses of the murdered Conestoga Indians one who was still muttering imprecations against his slayers. This massacre by the Paxton Boys was in December 1763, and it is evident that David Diffenderffer was well acquainted, in the small town, with William Henry. He had told his grandson much about early Lancaster and the Revolution. With little doubt the site of Henry's gun factory, which he certainly knew well, was handed down thus.

This probably accounts for Jordan's location of the gunshop, though he may have found it among William Henry's papers without mentioning his source; though this is unlikely. Anyway, he must have been certain of this fact when he wrote so definitely about the location of the gun factory, "Where the Old Factory Road crosses Mill Creek."

(d) "Dec. 5, 1777. On application of William Henry, Henry Gingrich, John Eberly, Christopher Oberholtzer, Henry Mayer, Casper Hallum, Adam Deterer, Michael DeRiener and George Radfong were excused from going to camp in case they continue to work for Mr. Henry at making arms." F. R. Diffenderffer, Vol. 10, p. 12.

Today there is standing along Mill Creek, where the Old Factory Road crosses that stream, an ancient mill building, which evidence indicates was the one used by William Henry as his gun factory. It is the only building of early construction on that site. It is a two and a half story mill, roofed apparently, with Peach Bottom slate. It's ridge-pole is almost exactly east and west. Thirty feet wide and sixty in length, its western end, against the creek, is frame for twenty feet. The bulk of the building is Conestoga limestone, quarried nearby. There is a brick chimney at the eastern end and also a grain hoist.

"Henry's gun works, the best equipped in the colonies." must have been rented by Colonel Henry, for he never held title to it. The tract of land, on which the mill stands, from 1747 to 1784 belonged to Andrew Shultz.[16] Evidence that the ancient mill had been used as a gunshop comes from Elmer Eshelman, who in 1876, was born here. Elmer Eschelman remembers as a boy finding remnants of gun parts about the old mill, particularly cut off ends of gun-barrels, as of barrels which, after welding, had been reduced to a standard length. Elmer Eshelman says that during his youth the waters of Mill Creek, impounded by dam running from his father's mill to the hillside across the stream, could develop 25-30 H.P. In earlier years, with a greater stream and mill-pond, the mill evidently was well fitted for forging, welding and grinding gun-barrels by water power. But even though William Henry may have rented Andrew Shultz's mill to be used as a gunshop during the revolution, there is no evidence that this mill had been used for that purpose when he began making arms on his own account in 1750. Of one or more sites of Henry's gunshops only one thing is certain: all were on rented properties.

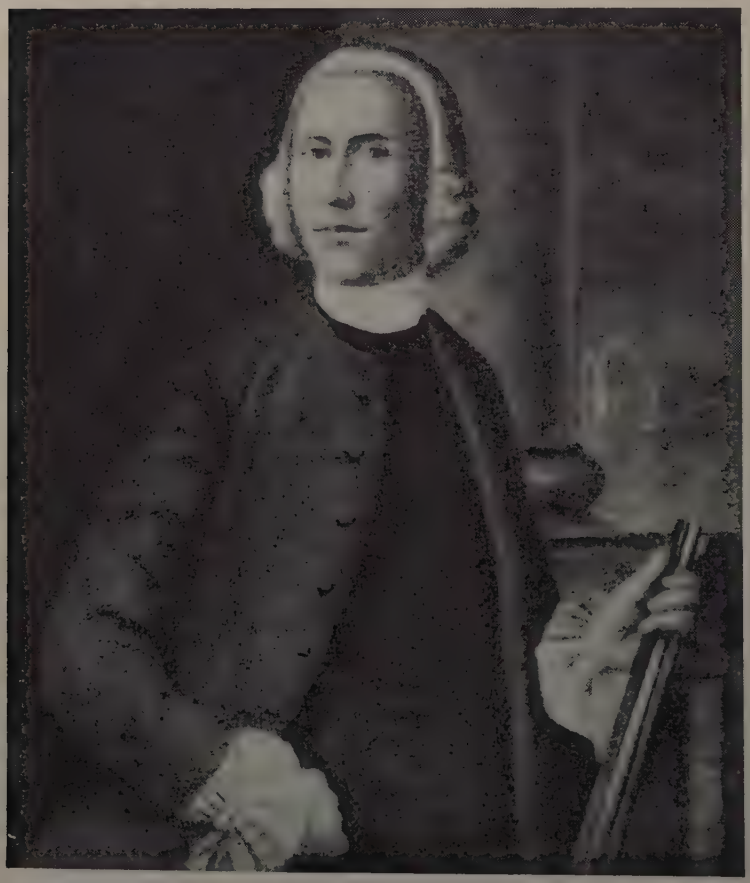
Of the many thousands of smoothbore and rifled guns which were made in William Henry's gunshops only one is known today. Found recently, it was purchased for $425 and presented to the Lancaster County Historical Society. A .73 smoothbore with a 40″ barrel, its lock-plate, with its original hammer and pan, is marked W. Henry. Its fore-sight is a bayonet lug, proving it to be a musket. From comparisons with muskets known to have been used in the Continental army of 1776, it is definitely a pre-revolutionary type.

This rare musket, which seems to have been in a Lancaster County garrett all these years, is evidently one made at Lancaster

by Henry when he was armorer for the Braddock campaign of 1755 and the Forbes expedition of 1756. At that time, working for the Crown, Henry, who was always a good advertizer, could mark his guns. However later, as known Superintendent of Arms and Accoutrements to be used against the British army, he would hesitate to mark his guns for fear of reprisals. That is probably why Joe Kindig, Jr. of York, Pennsylvania and Herman P. Dean, of Huntington, West Virginia, who better than any others, know the many collections of ancient firearms in America, have failed to find any gun, except the musket mentioned, marked W. Henry (Lancaster). The guns made by William Henry 2d and 3d, at Boulton, are not uncommon. But no rifle marked W. Henry (Lancaster) has as yet come to light. If unaltered, such a rifle would sell, like Stiegel glassware, at a hundred times its original value.

ESHELMAN'S MILL ON MILL CREEK at its juncture with the Old Factory Road. Used by William Henry as a gun factory during the Revolution. Photograph by M. Luther Heisey, 1942.

All through William Henry's business life, 1750 to 1786, his energy and enterprise were being lavishly spent on affairs outside of his gunshop and traders store. Even in that first decade, when he made considerable money, he took an active part in the French and Indian war.[17] Yet when he died he left what was then a handsome fortune £22455 7s 5d. Withal, he must have been a good business man.



OIL PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM HENRY by Benjamin West. Painted from life in 1756, the original is now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Military, Public and National Career

Few men, within so short a life-span, had conferred upon them so many honors and responsibilities, both civil and military, as did William Henry. These, with his scientific achievements, which they shared with him, deserve to rank him with his contemporaries, Benjamin Franklin and David Rittenhouse. He started his military career and first came into prominence as Armorer of the State forces attached to Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1755.[18] In this capacity, with little doubt, he furnished many arms from his own and other gunshops in Lancaster. That he was in action in this tragic campaign is shown by the fact that he saved the life of the young Delaware Chief, Gelelemand, on Braddock's field. The following year he filled a similar commission under Forbes. From this it is evident that he was a prominent figure in the French and Indian War. He was Major Henry then.

His first entry into public life was when he was appointed, by the assembly, Canal Commissioner in 1771.[19] Upon the breaking out of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country he espoused the patriotic cause with energetic enthusiasm. Soon he was on the Committee of Safety and other committees for the revolutionary cause, including the Supreme executive Council or the Board of War. He was made Superintendent of Arms and Accoutrements and Assistant Commissionary General. He was empowered to act as Fiscal Agent of the State and Confederation for Lancaster and adjoining counties. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and sat upon the bench as one of its judiciary. He served nine years as Treasurer of Lancaster County, the richest and most populous in the state. Finally, in 1785, he

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(e) On Braddock's disastrous field, July 1755, there fell into the hands of the Fortieth Regiment of Foot an eighteen-year-old Delaware youth. The infuriated Colonials were about to dispatch the Indian with their bayonets when William Henry, at the risk of his own life, stepped front and rescued him. This Indian, Gelelemand (1737-1811), the son of a chief, overwhelmed with gratitude by this merciful interference, so unprecedented in Indian warfare, as an expression of his deep feeling proposed to Major Henry an exchange of names. This, according to the Indian code, was the greatest honor that could be conferred. A friendship was established which lasted for several generations of the differently-colored Henry families. Old William Henry-Gelelemand, also known as Killbuck, outlived the friend of his heart, Major Henry, by twenty-five years.

See "The Life of William Henry." Francis Jordan, Chapter 11.

was a delegate to the Continental Congress, then meeting in New York.[20]

From his personal contact with the Continental Congress; from his vast correspondence, as is shown by letters from Washington and many others still in existence; it is evident that Colonel Henry knew, and cooperated with most of the leading men of America. These records show the versatility of his assistance to the cause. He was a trusted patriot, as is shown by his positions on Revolutionary Committees and the Board of War. He was a manager and administrator, as is shown by his being Superintendent of Arms and Accoutrements. In this capacity he had charge of making firearms in Lancaster County. As Commissary of Hides for the states of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, he established workshops in Philadelphia, Lancaster, Allentown and elsewhere for making boots, shoes, hats, cartridge-cases, etc., for the army.[21] He was a financier, as is shown by his being Fiscal Agent of the State and Confederation. In this field he was a consultant of President Reed. It fell to him to handle all of the local money available for the support of the army. In 1781, when the financial situation was becoming desperate, President Reed appealed to Colonel Henry. Thus far no one had shown capacity to cope with the financial problems precipitated by the war. Robert Morris had raised money on his personal credit, but had formu-

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(f) A bill, now among the John W. Jordan papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, furnishes an accurate record of the large amount of business Henry did for the government. It also reveals his commissions and salary as Superintendent. It reads:

Dr. The United States in account with William Henry, Cr.

To Cash paid for repairing arms	£ 10854	17s	10d
To Cash paid for arms and accoutrements	20091	7	10
To Cash paid for leather, shoes, etc. and making shoes, with my commission of £2701 14s, and my expenses to Philadelphia of £209, 18s 11d	56735	16	6
To Cash paid for clothing, etc. (£21557 19s 3d) and Commission on do £1077 18s	22635	17	3
To my pay as Supt. of Arms and Military Accoutrements from April 21, 1778 to August 13, 1779, 480 days at 22/6 per day	540	0	0
	110857	17	5
(on Credit side)			
By total amount of credits	103700	5	9
By Balances due W. Henry	7157	11	8
	£110857	17s	5d

lated no plans to provide for permanent revenue, or for placing a European loan. Henry's letter to Reed, which antedates by a year Morris's subsequent recommendations, has suggestions for both. Premising that the basis of all paper currency must necessarily be specie, Henry, in this letter, proposes a clear and feasible plan for its accumulation by enactment of laws requiring the payment of certain licenses and duties on imports in coin; and further recommends, as a basis of security for placing loans with foreign bankers, the revenue from an excise tax. This latter he strongly urged as a moral as well as an economic measure. This financial plan of William Henry, in his letter of May 26, 1781, to President Joseph Reed, is an original, masterly plan, worthy of a minister of finance of today.[22]

With friends on both sides of the vital issue of the day, William Henry's judicial tact and diplomacy, which evidence shows he had in full measure, was frequently put to test. During a period of the war, according to the Diary of the Lititz Moravian Church, Brother Billy Henry was several times called upon for advice on the political issues of the day in which the Lititz Moravians, who at least for a time were pacifists, found themselves in embarrassing circumstances.

He was even called upon by the Committee of Safety to arrest the pastor of St. James Episcopal Church, the Rev. Thomas Barton, whose Tory activities were becoming conspicuously offensive. Now Henry had formerly been one of Barton's parishioners. The two men were close friends. It seems to have been through the forbearance of William Henry, as disclosed by the *Lancaster Journal,* that on "October 13, 1778, having disposed of his real estate to his son-in-law, Paul Zanzinger, Thomas Barton was permitted to leave Lancaster with his wife."[23]

When, in 1778, Silas Deane returned from France, after successfully negotiating treaties of alliance and commerce with that country, the *Lancaster Journal* says: "Salutes were fired and in the evening an illumination the expenses of which were paid by Colonel Henry out of his own pocket."[24] Always was the cause of Liberty, Independence, Democracy close to Colonel Henry's heart. But he seems to have been too useful a man as producer of army equipment ever to have been on the battlefield in the Revolution. Colonel Henry was a versatile fighter for the great cause.

Inventor and Man of Science

William Henry was an inventive genius. In 1767 his scientific mind was drawn into that unique group of philosophers who met in Philadelphia, 65 miles away, and with whose illustrious members, Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse, Thomas Jefferson and others, he soon played an active part. Franklin's signature is attached to his certificate of membership in the American Philosophical Society.[25]

According to Francis Jordan, William Henry devised labor-saving machines that were helpful in his gunworks; (g) he is credited with the invention of the screw auger; (h) he invented a system of steam heating. suggesting that now in vogue; he constructed a steam-wheel which, had he lived, would have been converted into a steam-carriage. It seems to have been the beginning of the locomotive. In the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (1768) there is described a "Self-moving or Sentinel Register, invented by William Henry of Lancaster." This was a steam machine, invented in 1767. The minutes of the Society record: "1789, April 17. 21 members present, Franklin presiding. A memoir 'On the effects of heat in conducting the Electric Fluid and explaining the phenomena of thunder, the Aurora Borealis, etc.', by the late William Henry of Lancaster, was read." Henry had died 3 years before, but his scientific records were still being honored by the Society.

The versatility of Henry's constructive mind is shown by the fact, as recorded in the Diary of the Lititz Moravian Church,

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(g) It is probable, too, that the ingenious William Henry did much to improve the Pennsylvania or so-called Kentucky rifle, the making of which he had learned from Matthew Roesser (1708-1771). Lancaster County was well established as the birthplace of the Pennsylvania Rifle by the time he started gunmaking in 1750.

(h) John Joseph Henry (1758-1811) in a statement (now at the home of Dr. Thomas H. A. Stites, Boulton, Pa.) says that as a 13-year-old boy (in 1771) he saw his father's experiments with and the development of this auger. The first one was made of lead, which his father bored into a turnip. The next one, iron, threw the chips out of poplar wood, but failed with oak. Finally, in 1772, the pattern of the tool was taken to John Henry Rauch, in the Moravian Community at Lititz, who was making Spitzbohrer (gimlets) at the time. Rauch, after properly tempering the steel, perfected the screw auger. Henry and Rauch, thereafter, did considerable business together in manufacturing the tool, which was new to the trade. John Henry Rauch (1729-1796) is listed in the "Moravian Graveyards of Lititz" (A. R. Beck) as "Spurrier, smith and augermaker."

that Brother Billy Henry, of Lancaster, drew the architectural plans for the new church at Lititz. (i) He superintended the building of a new prison in Lancaster in 1784. (j)

But William Henry's greatest claim to fame lies in the fact that he was the first man in America to apply steam to navigation. The facts in connection with this notable achievement are these: In December, 1760, on the ship *Friendship*, Nathaniel Falconer, Master, William Henry sailed from Philadelphia to London. Among his receipted bills is one of £25 for the passage. He had letters of introduction from Thomas Barton, Rector of St. James Episcopal Church in Lancaster, to friends in England. As the *Friendship* entered the English Channel she was captured by a French privateer, England and France being at war. This meant that Henry was delayed several months in getting to London, as his ship was taken to a Spanish port.[26]

Whether the main purpose of this expensive and hazardous trip to England was to meet James Watt (1736-1819), whose attempts to utilize steam as a motive power were in 1761, beginning to be known over the world, is not recorded. However, Henry visited Watt (k) then probably in Birmingham, who received

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(i) This church was dedicated August, 1787. William Henry did not live to attend the ceremony. From 1785 to December, 1786, when he died, he was suffering in his last illness. He must have drawn the architectural plans for the nearby Moravian Church under physical stress.

(j) "The County of Lancaster to William Henry, Dr.

To superintending the Building of the new Goal in the Borough of Lancaster from the 10th of June to October 5, 1784 (Sundays excluded)
101 days at 5s per day £25 5s
Lancaster October 7, 1786." (Document at Boulton, Pa.)

Without doubt he designed this building. It probably was an addition to or a reconstruction of the jail, at the corner of Prince and West King Streets, which had been built about 30 years earlier.

(k) It is likely, too, that Henry, on this visit, met Matthew Boulton, who later became Watt's business partner.

The young Bill Henry, who in the 1770's was sent from Lititz to complete his apprenticeship at Nazareth, started his gunshop at Jacobsburg on the Bushkill Creek, according to Dr. Thomas H. A. Stites, in 1799. In 1812, when his son, William Henry 3rd started a gunshop one mile down that creek from Jacobsburg, the settlement was named Boulton. Family tradition says it was named for a friend of grandfather Henry, Matthew Boulton.

Boulton today, where Thomas H. A. Stites and his wife, Mollie Henry Stites, both descendants of William Henry, now live, is classic ground in the history of nineteenth century gunmaking in America. For here at Boulton, terminated by Mollie Henry's father, Granville

him courteously and showed him his steam engine in operation. William Henry left Portsmouth, November, 1761, and after a rough passage of forty-two days returned to Lancaster before the end of the year.[27] Soon after his return, he began to apply what he had learned from James Watt to experiments in steam navigation.

Robert H. Thurston, former Director of the Department of Mechanical Engineering at Cornell University, in his "Life of Robert Fulton." says: "In 1763 William Henry completed a machine which was attached to a boat with paddles and with it he experimented on the Conestoga, near Lancaster. The boat, a stern-wheeler, was structurally weak and unable to resist the pounding action of the engine. This was the first attempt that ever had been made to apply steam to the propelling of boats. Notwithstanding this ill luck that attended the first attempt in an undertaking of the practicability of which he had not the least doubt, Henry constructed a second model with improvements on the first." (F.J.) The "Sentinel Register" described in the transactions of the American Philosophical Society, in 1768, as an invention of William Henry, was a mechanical device the motive power of which was steam. It had been in use prior to 1767. This, with his experiments in steam engineering on the Conestoga, would be clear evidence that William Henry, if not the first, was certainly among the first to apply steam as motive power for any purpose in America. (F.J.) "One has but to read his explanatory note to realize his thorough grasp of the principles governing the elasticity of air and the power to be derived from its expansion, a scientific truth then in its infancy." (F.J.)

John Fitch (1743-1798), who is generally given credit for completing a steamboat and successfully running it on the Delaware in 1787, was an acquaintance of William Henry. "In 1785 Fitch came to Lancaster and called on Henry who ingenuously showed him his perfected model of the steamboat. At the same time Henry told Fitch that he had experimented with his steamboat as early as 1760, and had discussed its possibilities with Andrew

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Henry, the art of riflemaking, which was started by Martin Meylin in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1719, and had come through the famous William Henry, was continued until the latter part of that century. Alas, the Boulton gunshop, even the dam on the Bushkill which ran it, are gone today.

Ellicott (1754-1820) and with Thomas Paine (1737-1809), who had considerable mechanical ingenuity; but added, with that modesty which was characteristic of him, coupled with an unwillingness to inflict an injury, even though it recoiled upon himself, that as he (Fitch) had proclaimed his invention to the world, he would not claim it." (F.J.)

After the death of William Henry, in 1786, a controversy arose between James Rumsey (1743-1792), who had invented a steamboat (1784), and John Fitch as to their respective claims to priority. Referring to Rumsey's claim, Fitch made this important acknowledgement: "That although Rumsey might claim precedence, as far as he was concerned. Mr. Henry was long before Rumsey in making a draft and preparing a model of a steamboat, although he did not publicly announce it."[28]

Subsequently, in behalf of Fitch's claim, Mrs. Henry made this affidavit: "This is to certify that Mr. John Fitch called upon William Henry, Esquire, my late husband, in his lifetime, about two years and a half since, when Mr. Fitch showed him draft and model of a machine to propell a boat through the water; and further, that I have frequently heard of Mr. Henry applying steam as a means to urge boats through water by the force of it, and that he had proposed laying a model of a machine for that purpose before the Philosophical Society *long* before Mr. Fitch called upon him. Witness my hand this 12th day of May, 1788. Ann Henry. Test, Jno. Jos. Henry.

Here from the wife, and from Fitch himself, is clear evidence confirming the records of Dr. Thurston "That William Henry had the honor or originating the idea and of building the first steamboat ever built in the United State."

Robert Fulton, who is generally given credit for being the first successfully to commercialize the application of steam to navigation, was born in what was then Little Britian Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, November 14, 1765. His father, Robert Fulton, had come to Lancaster in 1735 and occupied a house on Penn Square directly across that Square from the lot in 1760 taken over by William Henry. In February, 1765, this Robert Fulton sold this residence and bought a farm in Little Britian Township, where his son, Robert, was born the same year. Unsuccessful in farming he moved back to Lancaster in 1766. He died here in 1768, leaving a widow and five children, of whom

Robert was the elder son. Young Robert Fulton lived in Lancaster for sixteen years. He went to Philadelphia in 1782. (j)

Through the fog of traditions of Fulton's attainments in various branches of mechanics, of his schooling by William Henry, it is well to consider some known facts of Lancaster between 1763 and 1782. William Henry's early experimentation with the steamboat was done before Robert Fulton was born. After 1775, when as a ten-year old boy Fulton would begin to take an interest in what was going on in the town, William Henry, for seven or eight years, was so busy with the affairs of the Revolution that he probably did not do much in further experimentation with the steamboat. While during this period, prior to 1782, Robert Fulton, as a maturing youth, undoubtedly knew everything that was going on in Lancaster, as a youth in a small town always does, he may not have seen Henry's steamboat on the Conestoga. Robert Fulton, however, must have been well acquainted with Henry, and known of the Henry steamboat. With a mind with a natural trend toward mechanical sciences, young Fulton was taking an active interest in the gunshops and other mechanical trades in the community. And an inquisitive boy would have to see that model of the steamboat. Beyond this, a supplementary note comes from Mrs. Alice Crary Sutcliffe, a great-granddaughter of Robert Fulton, when she says in her "Robert Fulton and the Clermont": "Fulton must have already been familiar with some of the early attempts toward steam navigation, through his Lancaster townsman, William Henry." That Robert Fulton got his first ideas of the steamboat from William Henry there is no doubt.

Another great-great-grandson of William Henry, Augustus W. Jordan of Germantown, summarized the chronology of the steamboat as follows:

William Henry, 1763 on the Conestoga.

(j) These facts and dates are taken from "Robert Fulton, Inventor and Artist," by H. W. Dickinson, of the Science Museum, South Kensington, England. (John Lane, London, 1912.) It is the best work on the subject in our literature. The author says: "Many are the stories, mostly improbable and therefore not reproduced here, of Fulton's experiments and attainments in various branches of mechanics during his boyhood (in Lancaster)."

When, in 1938, H. W. Dickinson visited Lancaster and the writer took him to visit Fulton House, where Robert Fulton was born, his ideas of this sentence had not changed. He discredited the local traditions that young Fulton learned much from William Henry.

James Rumsey, 1784 on the Potomac.
John Fitch, 1787 on the Delaware.
Oliver Evans, 1804 on the Schuylkill.
John Stevens, 1804 on the Hudson.
Robert Fulton, 1807 on the Hudson.[30]

The steamboat was born on the Conestoga.

It matured on the Potomac, the Delaware, the Schuylkill and the Hudson.

William Henry was its progenitor.

What withheld complete development of the small steamboat of the Conestoga the future of which, in the mind of its inventor, was assured? Apparently William Henry was too busy with his gunshops, many other interests, and the absorbing affairs of the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary periods to devote sufficient time—and it would have required most of his time—to coddle his frail infant of the Conestoga into the maturity that would fit it for the high seas and for commercial use. He had to wait one hundred and eighty-eight years before he was officially recognized by his home State as Father of the Steamboat.

In 1951 a curb marker was erected in Penn Square, Lancaster. The inscription on the plate reads:

WILLIAM HENRY

First man in America to apply steam to navigation. His stern-wheel steamboat ran on the Conestoga prior to 1765. Site of house that he occupied, 1760-1786, is about 60 yards from here.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. (k)

Notable Guests and Visitors

Among the many distinguished persons in Colonel Henry's home, one of the most famous was one of the earliest. This was Benjamin West, who was born in Chester County, October 10, 1738. Before he was eighteen years old Henry realized the boy's

(k) A similar roadside marker is promised by the Commission to be placed along the Lincoln Highway (Route 30), where it crosses the Conestoga, marking that river as the Birthplace of the Steamboat, with William Henry its Father.

prospective talents as an artists and took him into his home, where he supplied him with materials essential to his work. John Galt, in his "Life of Benjamin West" (London, 1816,) says. "Among those helpful to West in his early career was William Henry, of Lancaster, who had acquired a handsome fortune by his profession as a gunsmith. Henry was indeed an extraordinary man and possessed the power generally attended upon genius, that of interesting the imagination of those with whom he conversed."

Exactly when West came to Lancaster is not known, but it must have been prior to 1756.[31] two of his early portraits, William Henry and his wife Ann Henry, must have been made from life, doubtless after they were married, which was, according to Judge Landis, March 8, 1756. About this same period, at the suggestion and under the inspiration of Henry, the youthful artist painted his first group picture, the Death of Socrates.[32] (l) Benjamin West later became President of the Royal Academy. William Henry named his youngest son for him.

It is doubtful if any residence in Lancaster ever had a list of distinguished guests and visitors to equal that of William Henry's home at the northwest corner of the Market Square. From 1766 to 1776 (m) this house was the home of the Juliana Library, which was named for the wife of William Penn, Jr., son of the original proprietor of Pennsylvania. Founded in 1759 by William Henry and others, it was the third circulating library in America. On its charter (1763) is a list of names—the Who's Who of Lancaster County of the period. Edward Shippen, George Ross, Robert Fulton, Sr., Henry William Stiegel, illustrious ironmaster and glassmaker, are among the eighty names. All of these came to the library. For a time Henry was librarian and treasurer.[33] During the British occupation of Philadelphia, John Hart, a member of Continental Congress and a signer of the

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(l) It is likely that all of the work of the young artist, which he did in Lancaster, was done in the house belonging to Isaac Whitelock, on East Orange Street, between North Queen and North Duke, where William Henry and his wife were tenants at that time.

By 1757 West had gone to Philadelphia.

See "Benjamin West and his visit to Lancaster," Charles I. Landis, Vol. XXIX, No. 5.

(m) Between 1776 and 1784 the books of the Juliana Library were packed in storage. See "The Juliana Library Company in Lancaster," Charles I. Landis, Vol. XXXIII, No. 10.

Declaration of Independence; David Rittenhouse, eminent astronomer and treasurer of the State, and his wife; and Thomas Paine, famous political essayist; for a considerable time, were guests at this house.[34] John Joseph Henry, in his "Campaign against Quebec," (n) says: "In the summer and winter of 1777 and 1778 he [Thomas Paine] was an inmate of my father's house, with the late David Rittenhouse and John Hart . . . . Mr. Rittenhouse inhabited the front room on the upper story, where was [had been] the [Juliana] library. There he kept the office of the treasury of Pennsylvania. The room of Mr. Paine and Mr. Hart was to the left as you come to the stair's head entering the library."

What a houseful it must have been; for besides these four guests there were Colonel and Mrs. Henry, a widowed sister and six Henry children; John Joseph (1758), recovering from his injuries at the time, Elizabeth (1765), Abraham (1768), James (1771), Matthew (1773) and Benjamin West (1777), (o) with three servants; and at least at meals, probably several apprentices. Nor could the 2½-story house, with a 22-foot front, have been large. What a test it must have been for Ann Henry's fortitude and patience; with a wounded son, four small children, a newly-born baby and a man like Tom Paine to look after? (p) For Paine was an unpleasant guest. John Joseph Henry, in his "Reminiscences" (1809), says of him: "I knew Paine well and personally, for he was a guest in my father's house when Generals Howe and Clinton were in Philadelphia. When my wound had so far mended in 1778 as to permit my hobbling about on crutches, I would sometimes go to Paine's room and sit with him,

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(n) This is a classic of its period. Note that John Joseph Henry, who was in that bitter campaign of 1775, was born November 4, 1758. As a youth, without his father's knowledge, he had run away to join Arnold's army.

(o) Nathaniel, born in 1775, had been laid away in the nearby Moravian Graveyard in 1776. Ann Henry, according to the records of the Lancaster Moravian Church, had 13 children. Six of them died in infancy, not an unusual proportion for the period.

(p) Ann Henry was a woman of much intelligence. John Joseph, her second oldest son, in his "Reminiscences" testifies to his mother's strong convictions, extensive reading and unusual cleverness. "And yet so tenderhearted that of a truth it may be said of her 'She knew no guile.'"

David Rittenhouse, in a letter to her of November 5, 1789, closes with "I am, dear Madam, your affectionate friend and Humble Servant." She succeeded her husband as Treasurer of Lancaster County.

as I often did with Mr. Rittenhouse. I found Paine a man afflicted with supercilious pride, and imaginary importance, which made his society undesirable. With a small amount of learning he domineered as if he were a Johnson. It was his daily habit to take a walk in the morning until twelve, take an inordinate dinner, after which he would retire to his chamber and take a nap of several hours in a big arm-chair wrapped in a blanket, with a bottle of spirits and a tumbler within easy reach of his hand. His indolence was amazing. His manuscripts lay upon a table covered with dust. Today a few lines would be added, and in the course of a week a dozen more and so on.''

Moreover, he made no secret of his deistical opinion. With an intemperate glutton, who was spreading atheism among her children in her house, patient, devout Ann Henry finally prevailed upon her husband to move Paine out.[35]

David Rittenhouse (1732-1796) was a different man. John Joseph Henry says of him: ''My greatest recreation in my distressed condition was to get into the chamber of Mr. Rittenhouse, whose conversation enlivened my mind, for he was most affable.''

The great German traveler, Herr Schoepff, visited this house in 1784. William Henry showed him ''a machine intended for the propelling of boats.''[36] Joseph Priestly (q) visited this house after William Henry's death. Ann Henry, who lived there until 1799, expressed her admiration of his ''superlative attainments'' in science.[37] These and many others, with little doubt most of the important visitors to Lancaster, came to this house at the northwest corner of the Market Square. William Henry was the attracing magnet of Lancaster from 1760 to 1786.

Personality and Homelife

Francis Jordan, from definite family records, says that ''Colonel Henry was of commanding presence, tall, vigorous and muscular, with prominent features. Although the expression of his face was stern, it belied the innate gentleness of his nature; as all the recorded acts of his life, (witness his saving an enemy Indian on the battlefield) exhibited a self-sacrificing and a tender solicitude for the welfare of others.'' ''He looked well to the comfort

(q) Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), the man who first isolated oxygen, came to America in 1794. He settled at Northumberland, at the Forks of the Susquehanna, where he is buried.

and dignity of his household, and was accustomed to the amenities of good living. Among his papers are receipted bills that tell their own story. He employed two maids and a "serving man" and paid not only for their maintenance but for their apparel. On December 14, 1778, he paid David Gordon £175 for a chair (a two-wheeled vehicle) for Mrs. Henry. In January, 1782, he bought of James Hall, a silversmith of Lancaster, one dozen silver spoons and a silver cream jug for Mrs. Henry, and a pair of gold buttons for Mrs. Rose, his mother-in-law, paying for them £7 10s."

What a fancy chair that must have been at £175—the equivalent of ten good horses of the day. His home was evidently that of a gentleman of means. His education was similar to that of Benjamin Franklin. With adverse circumstances at his boyhood home, with an apprenticeship in riflemaking when he was fifteen, he was largely self-taught. Francis Jordan says of this: "What he lost in his youth his alert mind, as it matured made up in an almost insatiable appetite for books, which he gratified to the extent of his purse, utilizing as well the library [Juliana] he helped to found. His literary studies ran into the sciences, which he absorbed, reading everything within his grasp, with little or no mental effort." Thus educated he provided his children with a better start in life. "His sons, upon attaining the proper age, entered Franklin College, and his daughter the Moravian Institution at Bethlehem." (F.J.)

(r) Franklin College was founded in 1787, a year after William Henry's death. Francis Jordan's statement must have applied only to the two youngest sons, Matthew, born 1773, and Benjamin West, born 1777; possibly to James, born 1771, and Abraham, born 1768. The brief, unsigned will of William Henry, written in 1786, directs "That the house and lot, etc., shall be sold. ⅓ to wife Ann, ⅔ to William, John Joseph, Elizabeth, Abraham, James, Matthew and Benjamin (last two very young to be clothed and educated). (Register's Office.)

In the John W. Jordan papers there is a bill which reads as follows:

1787 Mrs. Ann Henry Dr. to Franklin College.

Oct. 24 For 1 mo. Tuition.....		6	3
1788. Jan 18 3 m 20 d of Ben.....		15	3
	1	1	6

Received payment W. Reichenbach

This bill shows that Benjamin West Henry was in the first class at Franklin College. He was ten years old when he entered.

Franklin College was united with Marshall College in 1853 to become Franklin and Marshall.

In a letter of December 23, 1775, to Bishop Seidel, who was head of the Bethlehem Girls School, Colonel Henry expresses his appreciation of the careful attention the Sisters of that institution, particularly Sister Esther, were giving his "dear Betsy."[38]

Parts of the "Inventory of Goods and Chattels which were of William Henry, Esquire, late of the Borough of Lancaster, deceased. Appraised by Henry Dehuff and Philip Thomas, April 26, 1790," now in the Lancaster County Courthouse, are worth recording. Among much else there are:

One horse	15	0	0
One cow	4	0	0
One heifer	2	0	0
One servant man who has 8 years to serve	20	0	0
One Franklin Stove	3	0	0
One River piece	3	15	0
One fowling piece	1	5	0
Three old guns		15	
One Pair of silvermounted pistols	7	10	0
One saddle portmanteu and bridle	2	4	6
One Landscape and one History Piece	2	5	0
Three variations needles and one dipping do	1	10	0
Books, phamphlets etc., 9 Vols. of Journals of Congress		18	

£15, about $43 in the value of the American pound, from other similar inventories, seems to have been a fair estimate of an average saddle or light-harness horse in those days. But what sort of a cow could be bought in America today for $11?

"The servant man who has 8 years to serve" was doubtless a redemptioner, an immigrant whose passage had been paid by Henry at the Philadelphia dock.

With little doubt the "River piece" was a large caliber duck gun—the kind used in the early days to throw a half pound of shot into a "raft" of ducks at night. The "fowling piece" was distinctly a shotgun, for upland game shooting. Among the "three old guns" there may have been one or more of the rifles which made William Henry famous as a gunsmith. But with three at only 15s the appraisers could not have thought much of their value. The "History piece," with the landscape, was most probably the "Death of Socrates," by Benjamin West, which is today still in the family at Boulton, Pennsylvania. "Three

variation needles and one dipping do'' seem to be all that was left of Henry's scientific apparatus. Under ''Bonds, Notes & Book Accts in Specie,'' in the same inventory, there is a long list of debtors, forty-one, including the County of Lancaster, with notes due totaling £4518 6s 9d. William Henry was evidently a generous banker in his community. Apparently also, at times, he loaned money to the State of Pennsylvania. In the John W. Jordan papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, there are a dozen or more receipts from David Rittenhouse, Treasurer, for money loaned by William Henry. William Henry, in many ways, was the benefactor of his fellowman, of his nation.

CITATIONS

[1]The New Era Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa.

[2]See "Martin Meylin, a Progenitor of the Pennsylvania Rifle," by Herbert H. Beck. Vol. LIII, No. 2. Lancaster County Historical Society.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]"The Juliana Library Company in Lancaster," by Charles I. Landis. Vol. XXXIII, No. 10, p. 206. Lancaster County Historical Society.

[6]Ibid.

[7]"The Life of William Henry," by Francis Jordan, p. 25.

[8]Recorder's Office, Lancaster, Pa.

[9]See "The Famed Markets of Lancaster," by M. L. Heisey, Vol. LIII, p. 8, Lancaster County Historical Society.

[10]"Benjamin West and his Visit to Lancaster," by Charles I. Landis. Vol. XXIX, No. 5, Lancaster County Historical Society.

[11–14]Ibid.

[15]Vol. XXXIII, Lancaster County Historical Society, No. 10, p. 206.

[16]Register's Office, Lancaster.

[17]Audit in Lancaster County Orphan's Court. "Life," by F. Jordan, p. 178.

[18]"Life of Wm. Henry" by F. Jordan.

[19–28]Ibid.

[28]Ibid, p. 52.

[29]Ibid p. 53. United States Patent Office Report, 1849-1850.

[30]"Girard's Column," the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, about 1930.

[31]Now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.

[32]Now at the home of Dr. Thomas H. A. Stites, Boulton, Pa.

[33]Vol. XXXIII, No. 10, Lancaster County Historical Society.

[34]"Life," F. Jordan, p. 80.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid. p. 37.

[38]Ibid, p. 176.

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THE THEOLOGY OF JOHN CENNICK

CHAPTER I

Introduction

A. Statement and delimitation of the Subject.

The Reverend John Wesley wrote a letter to the Rev. George Whitefield, dated March 16, 1739, in which he tells of meeting the young man, John Cennick, and of his impression of him. Since that young man was destined to become an outstanding preacher of the gospel, and successively to be the co-laborer of Wesley and Whitefield, and later to leave both to serve with the Moravians, it might be well to have Wesley's original estimate of him heading this investigation.

Wrote Wesley:

"On Friday accordingly I set out, and came in the evening to Reading, where I found a young man, Cennick by name, strong in the faith of our Lord Jesus. He had begun a Society there the week before; but the minister of the parish had now wellnigh overturned it. Several of the members of it spent the evening with us, and it pleased God to strengthen and comfort them.

In the morning our brother Cennick rode with me, whom I found willing to suffer, yea to die, for his Lord. We came to Drummer in the afternoon.

We had appointed the little Society at Reading to meet us in the evening; but the enemy was too vigilant. Almost as soon as we went out of town the minister sent or went to each of the members, and, being (sic) arguing and threatening, utterly confounded them, so that they were all scattered abroad. Mr. Cennick's own sister did not dare to see us, but was gone out on purpose to avoid it."[1]

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1. *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley*, A.M. Edited by John Telford, B.A. Standard edition. London: 1931: The Epworth Press I, pp. 282, 283

John Cennick equalled John Wesley's early estimate of him. The fidelity, zeal and courage, which Mr. Wesley saw in him, led him to become one of the foremost among the evangelists of the early Methodist movement. This study will follow him as he declares the message of the gospel with zeal and faithfulness, often against very powerful opposition; in Kingswood and Bristol, London and Wiltshire, and eventually in Ireland where he becomes the founder of the Moravian Church. It will become evident that the same qualities of character actuate him as he differs doctrinally with Mr. Wesley and separates from him to join forces with Mr. Whitefield. Again led by doctrinal differences he will separate eventually from Mr. Whitefield to join the Moravians, with whom he will continue until his death.

The endeavor of this thesis will be to discover the doctrinal views of Cennick that led him first to leave John Wesley and unite with Whitefield, and later to leave the latter and find a connection with the Moravians, that was, apparently, doctrinally and spiritually congenial to him for the remainder of his life. Therefore the subject is stated as *The Theology of John Cennick.*

B. Importance of the Subject.

1—The importance of the subject is to be found first of all in the importance of John Cennick himself in the Evangelical Revival. Something of that prominence is indicated by the following quotation concerning him:

> "A good understanding, an open temper, and tender heart characterized the man. (i.e. Cennick) His christian qualities were not less distinguishable. If unaffected humility, deadness to the world, a life of communion with God, and a cheerful reliance on a crucified Saviour constitute the real christian, he was one in an eminent degree. Nor were the evidences of his call to the ministry less striking. Few ministers have felt a warmer love to Jesus Christ; few were more unwearied in preaching his gospel; few triumphed more in his cross, or suffered more patiently in his cause. As to success in his labours, perhaps there was not one in his day, except Mr. Whitefield, more highly honoured in this

particular. 'Tis true his language was not with the inticing words of man's wisdom; yet his doctrine and address were powerful, and found access to the hearts of thousands. The gospel he so diligently and faithfully dispensed, was the food of his own soul. He drank deeply of the cup of religious pleasures. His altar was not to an unknown God, he exalted not a Saviour whose virtues he had never proved; he pointed not to a Spirit, under whose almighty influence he had not lived; he directed not to a heaven, the happiness of which he had not anticipated. His career was short; but if life may be estimated, by the comparative quantity of good produced in it, then this truly active, spiritual, and useful man, may be said to have lived to a good old age."[1]

One whose success in his day is called second only to that of George Whitefield, when that day included John and Charles Wesley, Howell Harris, Benjamin Ingham and others, holds a place of sufficient prominence to warrant careful study of his times, his life and his thought.

There would not be complete agreement among the authorities that his place was as important as that just indicated. Few however would dispute the estimate given by Mr. Archibald W. Harrison that "John Cennick also belongs to this second rank of leaders of the Revival. He was one of the first lay preachers whom Wesley sent into the work."[2] And it is quite certain that he was "foremost among the names of the early Evangelists connected with the Moravians in this country. (England)"[3] And that the place of the Moravians in that connection is important is testified to by the Rt. Rev. Handley C.G. Moule, D.D., Bishop of Durham, in the 'introduction' to

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1. "Life of Mr. John Cennick" by the Rev. Matthew Wilks, in *Village Discourses*; or forty plain and short sermons on the more important doctrines of the gospel. By the late Rev. John Cennick. To which is prefixed, The Life of the Author. Revised and enlarged, and a recommendatory preface, by Matthew Wilks. A New Edition. London: 1840. P.XXII. Quoted in *Life of Rev. George Whitefield* by Aaron C. Seymour, rebound copy, no publisher or date given. p. 63; and in *History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren*, by the Rev. John Holmes. Vol. I, p. 336.
2. *The Evangelical Revival and Christian Reunion*, p. 106
3. Hasse, E. R. Bishop: *The Moravians, Leaders of Revival*, p. 74

the volume by Bishop E. R. Hasse titled *The Moravians, Leaders of Revival* where he writes:

> "But fewer, as Bishop Hasse says, know how deep has been the Moravian influence in Revival, not only far off but in our own land. Under God, English Christendom owes a debt never to be fully paid to the holy friends of Zinzendorf, who ministered light, peace, and power to Wesley's ardent soul."[1]

Thus Cennick's own personal importance to the Revival of the middle eighteenth century in England and Ireland, attests the importance of the subject of this thesis.

2—The controversies that Cennick and his work called forth, particularly in the field of what constitutes true Christian beliefs, indicate the importance of understanding what Cennick himself thought.

He was accused of heretical doctrinal views. A letter was published in Dublin, Ireland, in 1746, in which the nature of his supposed errors was set forth in some detail. He, according to this letter, was an antinomian; held an erroneous view of saving faith; was an emissary of the pope; preached by direct inspiration, not by meditation on the Scriptures; held unscriptural and extra-scriptural views; had signed the Articles of Berne, and taught the catechism rather than the Bible; asserted he was perfect; was often found to contradict himself; practiced duplicity and evoked it from his followers; failed to maintain the distinction of the persons of the Trinity and was therefore guilty of the Sabellian Error; taught that it was not needful to preach the law, but hurtful under the Gospel Dispensation; preached a simplicity which was the equivalent of ignorance; turned aside the plain historical meaning of Scripture by allegorical interpretation; and asserted miracles of judgment fell upon those that opposed them.[2]

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1. Ibid., vi.
2. McConnell, James M: *Mr. Cennicks* (sic) *Laid Open; And the Design of the Moravian Methodists in Part Discover'd.* In a letter to a friend.

Cennick's doctrinal differences with the Wesleys and with George Whitefield and Howell Harris illustrate the same controversies that testify to the importance of understanding his real mind and heart. Possibly as clear a statement of the controversy with the Wesleys as could be given in brief compass is that made by J. E. Hutton:

> "As John Wesley and John Cennick toiled hand in hand for the redemption of the Kingswood colliers, they discovered ere long that they could not agree on certain points of doctrine. There were three points in dispute! John Wesley was a thoroughgoing Arminian; John Cennick was at least half-a-Calvinist. Wesley taught the doctrine of Christian Perfection: Cennick could believe in no such fiction. Wesley believed in convulsions, groanings, sweats, and fits as signs of conversion: Cennick looked on such things with suspicion and alarm. And each regarded the other's position with horror. The result was inevitable. As Cennick was convinced that Wesley's doctrines of free-will and perfection were not only unscriptural but dangerous, he felt it his duty to denounce those doctrines in his sermons. He denounced, in particular, the doctrine of Perfection."[1]

Similarly the doctrinal differences with Mr. Whitefield may be set forth briefly:

> "As Cennick preached to the Wiltshire peasants he became ere long as discontented with the rigid Calvinism of Whitefield as he had formerly been with the rigid Arminianism of Wesley. Now was the time, he thought in his simplicity, to silence the voice of dispute for ever. Now was the time for the two great men to recognize that each had his share of the truth. For this purpose Cennick, longing for peace, invited both Wesley and Whitefield to meet The Moravians at a Conference in London. But Whitefield refused to come, and Cennick's well-meant efforts fell to the ground. For Cennick himself but one course now lay open. He was neither an extreme Arminian nor an extreme Calvinist: he was stifled in the choking atmosphere of con-

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1. Hutton, J. E.: *John Cennick. A Sketch.*

troversial bitterness; he longed for the purer air of brotherly love; and this he found to his delight among the Brethren."[1]

The results of the doctrinal controversies were seen in division of the evangelical societies. Cennick was blamed for these divisions. Here is one author's statement of it:

"The second division in the ranks of the evangelical leaders was caused by differences of opinion over Calvinism. Fortunately, it did not lead to the severance of old friendships, for Whitefield died before the full fury of the Calvinistic attack on Wesley broke out . . . The cleavage was brought about neither by Whitefield nor by Howell Harris, but by John Cennick. Cennick was one of the first of Wesley's lay preachers and was employed by him in the school at Kingswood. He is remembered today as the author of the grace, 'Be present at our table, Lord,' and was at first a believer in universal redemption. Having changed his views, he opposed both John and Charles Wesley in public and wrote to Whitefield, begging him to return from America without delay and settle the controversies that had arisen in Bristol. Whitefield had read Wesley's sermon on Free Grace, and in December, 1740, before he sailed for England, he wrote a reply to it. He wrote to the Wesleys on February 1, 1741: 'Why did you print that sermon against predestination? Why did you in particular, my dear brother Charles, affix your hymn and join in putting out your late hymn-book? How can you say, you will not dispute with me about election, and yet print such hymns and your brother send his sermon against election, to Mr. Garden and others in America?' A month later the Kingswood Society was torn asunder and fifty-two followed Cennick, while over ninety remained with Wesley. From this time Wesley affirmed 'there were two sorts of Methodists; those for particular, and those for general redemption.' Whitefield landed in England at the time when this controversy was at its height and immediately called Cennick to London. He entered the fray by publishing his reply to 'Free

1. Ibid., p. 32

Grace' along with those Articles of the Church of England that seemed to support his position, and a hymn by Dr. Watts. Cennick poured oil on the flames and the feelings even of friends were deeply stirred against one another. It was a triumph of grace that warm affection between the leaders continued unbroken,-but there were two sorts of Methodists hereafter, and the consequences have left their impression on England (and Welsh) religious life down to the present day. In London the Tabernacle went up side by side with the Foundery and now there were rival conventicles near the scene of the open-air triumphs Whitefield and Wesley had shared together in Moorfields. In Bristol, too, the Methodists were now in separate camps. Cennick began to itinerate in Wiltshire and other parts of the country as an evangelist under Whitefield's banner. Later he became a Moravian, and many of his Societies were handed over to the Brethren, as those of Ingham had been in the North."[1]

Thus we see that Cennick had a part in each of the divisions of the Evangelical Societies after the first one. The first was that in which John Wesley himself withdrew from the Fetter Lane Society and established the Foundery. In the cleavages that followed, in which first, the Calvinistic Methodists under Whitefield and Howell Harris separated from the Arminian Methodists under the Wesleys, and which secondly, resulted in many of the societies of Cennick, lightly attached to Whitefield and Harris heretofore, withdrawing to join the Moravians, John Cennick is accused or credited with being the major influence.

The importance of our subject is thus revealed in the controversies that Cennick's life and work evoked. Accusations of heretical doctrine and unscriptural practice; doctrinal controversies with the great leaders of the evangelical societies: John Wesley, Charles Wesley, George Whitefield and Howell Harris; the resultant divisions, of what was at first a united movement of revival chiefly in the Anglican Church, into Calvinistic

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1. Harrison, Archibald W., op. cit., pp. 71, 72, 73.

Methodists, Arminian Methodists and Moravians, all of these revolved about John Cennick, and all testify to the manifest importance of knowing what he really believed and taught.

3—The fact that John Cennick was founder of the Moravian Church in Ireland likewise discloses the importance of being acquainted with his theological views. Something of the extent of his labors there as well as the devoted nature of them is summarized in the following:

> "Then in 1746 he began his campaign in Ireland, which was carried on chiefly in Dublin and Ulster practically until his death in 1755. His was a truly apostolic ministry of selfless devotion among the poorest of the poor. He forgot all controversy in the service of his Lord and love of his people. He gathered together in Ulster no less than two hundred and twenty Societies, of which none remain. Wesley followed him to Dublin a year later and the Methodist work of evangelization began, which was destined to carry on in a much more effective way the cause to which Cennick had dedicated his life."[1]

Hutton refers to the period of his ministry in the North of Ireland as "the brightest part of Cennick's career".[2] Nor ought the suggestion of failure of effectiveness in the North Ireland work, implied in the statement "He gathered together in Ulster no less than two hundred and twenty Societies, of which none remain",[3] to stand as the only estimate. Another was written:

> "It is time to attempt an estimate of his work. If we judge that work by the meagre results which remain to the present day, we shall come to a very erroneous conclusion. The truth is that Cennick was a practical worker as well as a stirring preacher. When Peter Boehler visited Ulster in 1752, he found that Cennick had built ten chapels, and organized forty religious societies. Nor does even this give a true idea of the full extent of his labours. It has been estimated by a competent authority, that before Cennick's labours closed,

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1. Ibid., p. 106
2. Hutton, J. E., op. cit., p. 49
3. Ante., p. 10

the Brethren had no fewer than two hundred and twenty religious societies and preaching places in the North of Ireland. It is vain to contend that all that remain are four small congregations at Gracehill, Ballinderry, Gracefield, and Kilwarlin. The evidence of the old records is overwhelming. It proves that Cennick was the chief leader of the evangelical revival in the North of Ireland; it proves that his Gospel preaching resulted in the awakening, not of hundreds merely, but of thousands. Count Zinzendorf called him 'Paul Revived'. The epithet was not entirely undeserved. Nor is Cennick forgotten in Ireland yet. The fame of his labours lingers still in many a village and hamlet."[1]

Finally, the importance of our subject is evidenced by the hymns that Cennick wrote. He wrote many hymns, a large number of which are now in the British Moravian Hymn Book, some thirteen in the present American Moravian Hymn Book and some in almost all hymn books, particularly his most famous, "Children of the Heavenly King". Not only are hymns often indications of their author's beliefs, but also are influential in shaping Christian thought. Therefore there is value in knowing the doctrinal tenets of their author.

Thus there has been set forth as evidence of the importance of knowing the theological beliefs of John Cennick, his own personal importance in the Evangelical Revival, the controversies that rotated about him, viz., the accusation of heretical doctrine, the doctrinal differences with the Wesleys, Whitefield and Harris, and the part Cennick played in the divisions of the Evangelical Societies; his importance as founder of the Moravian Church in Ireland and evangelist to all North Ireland; and finally the testimony of his widely used hymns.

C. Method of Procedure

The realization of the purpose of this thesis calls for an examination of his writings on doctrinal subjects, a study of the doctrinal controversies into which he entered, and particularly for a careful examination of the forty published sermons which he preached throughout the period from 1739 to 1755. However,

1. Hutton, J. E., op. cit., pp. 64, 65.

the sermons, writings and controversies cannot be studied in themselves alone, nor can the nature of his doctrinal views be fully understood, except in the light of the times and circumstances out of which they came and of the personality of the man who preached, wrote and contended for the faith.

In trying to understand the times and circumstances in which the life and labours of Cennick were expended a general survey of the first half of the eighteenth century in England will be presented in brief form. By this means the effort will be made to understand the political, economic, social and cultural background in which Cennick lived and worked. The general religious situation in England will also be considered, and particularly the circumstances and conditions out of which the Evangelical Revival or Methodist Movement came.

The portrayal of Cennick's life will be an endeavor to become acquainted with the man himself. A biographical sketch of his brief thirty-six years, his personal characteristics, his spirit of devotion, unflagging zeal, his evangelistic fervour, as well as some of his more important associates will be presented.

Events and people that may have influenced Cennick's doctrinal views will be examined that the formative factors in his theology may be at least suggested.

The major intent of the thesis will be fulfilled in those chapters that deal particularly with the views of Cennick on the various major doctrines of the Christian faith. Here will be set forth that understanding of the message of Christianity that undergirded his messages, his ardent evangelism, his doctrinal controversies, his fighting against charges of heretical views and his separating his followers from others of different doctrinal opinion.

Something of the significance of Cennick and his work will be presented in summary, particularly with reference to his influence on subsequent theology in the Moravian Church and elsewhere. Thus it is hoped an appraisal of the worth of this study may be indicated.

CHAPTER II

The Times of John Cennick

The understanding of John Cennick's significance requires some knowledge of the conditions in England during his ministry. His messages deal primarily with those great themes of abiding interest and perennial significance that make them to some extent appropriate for every age. Much in them is valuable and pertinent now, displaying insights concerning human needs and divine provisions that make them timeless, belonging to eternal truth. Yet his messages grew out of his times, and were declared by a man who was driven by a strong sense of mission to the day in which he lived.

However, his messages were not concerned with a discussion of the history of his times, nor with current events. Rather the relationship of his messages to the times is to be found in his understanding of what the spiritual needs of the people were, and in his messages prepared to meet those needs. The Evangelical Revival,—at first in the Methodist movement, and later in one or another of the other divisions of that Revival movement,—was the expression of the mind and heart of Cennick with respect to these matters. Cennick's messages are clearly related to the Evangelical Revival, even as are his theological views. And the significance of the Evangelical Revival can only be understood in the light of political, economic, social, cultural, and religious conditions which existed in England in the first half of the eighteenth century. To these conditions the Evangelical Revival was related, partly as remedy to the ills they reveal.

A. Political and Economic Conditions.

Four years before John Cennick was born, Queen Anne suddenly passed away. The electress Sophia of Hanover had preceded her in death by a few weeks. Her son was immediately proclaimed king of England as George I, conforming to the Act of Settlement of 1701. He retained his Hanoverian dominions also. He was the first of the 'four Georges' who fol-

lowed one another in succession as rulers of England and whose reigns continued throughout the rest of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth.

The Georges were not gifted rulers or men of a very fine type, but the personality of the king was no longer of much consequence in the government of England. Parliamentary government was an established fact, and as the regular course of government was pursued, the desires of parliament would be carried out, no matter who sat upon the throne. The ministry, now also largely an established institution in the English government, looked to the majority in parliament, not to the king, for support. That majority, under George I, and, in fact, for practically the next fifty years was a Whig majority. In the mind of the King all Tories were Jacobites, and so he gave his entire confidence to the Whigs and formed a ministry from among them. Since there had been also much popular dread, during Queen Anne's last days, lest the Tory leaders would bring in the Pretender as a Roman Catholic king, the new parliament proved to have a Whig majority. The Whig leaders used their power and influence so skillfully, and the classes that supported them were so strong that the successive alternation of parties that had occurred under William and Anne ceased, and, as indicated, they remained in power until 1760. George I had ascended the English throne in 1714. George II succeeded him in 1727 and continued to rule until 1760.[1]

Two abortive attempts were made, during the period under review, to restore the Stuart kings. The first, in 1715, was led by the Earl of Mar, and was an effort to drive out the House of Hanover and place the Pretender on the throne. The other was the uprising led by the Young Pretender, or 'Prince Charlie', Charles Edward Stuart, son of the Old Pretender, in 1745. It was hopeless from the start, but did display the gallantry of the young man, and the courage and fidelity of some of his

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1. Cf., Cheyney, Edward P.: *A Short History of England*, pp. 542, 543. Cf., Hayes, Carlton, J. H.: *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, pp. 289-291; Green, John Richard: *History of the English People*, pp. 435, 439

Scotch followers.[1] Certain reverberations of these efforts to restore the Stuarts are seen in accusations hurled against leaders of the Methodist movement that they are Jacobites and Papists.

No political summary of the period would be adequate, no matter how brief, that left out reference to Mr. Robert Walpole, who was brought to the prime place in the Whig ministry in 1721 and continued in that place until 1742. Though not holding the title he was recognized by every one as the 'prime minister'—prime in importance, prime in power. Though he was nominally appointed by the crown, he was really dependent only upon the support of the Whig majority in the Commons. The other members of the ministry, likewise nominally appointed by the King, were actually dependent upon Walpole for office. Through a policy of patronage and bribery he managed to dominate the cabinet and a majority in the House of Commons. He enjoyed the favor of the King and was the practical ruler of England for twenty years.

Walpole's rise to power was definitely associated with economic conditions, particularly with the panic occasioned by the so-called 'bursting of the South Sea Bubble'. He had gained a high reputation for financial ability, and he had opposed the policy of the more influential ministers concerning the South Sea Company. Therefore when somebody was needed in office who could put things in order, he was looked upon as the man for the place.[2]

After Walpole had brought some order out of the chaos brought on by the losses occasioned by the speculation in the South Sea Company stock and its great drop in price,—when sober sense caused purchasers to realize there was no basis for its nominal value,—he turned to that judicious policy that was to keep him in office and bring great prosperity to his country.

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1. Cf., Ibid., pp. 543, 544, 549-551.

2. Cf., Cheyney, Edward P., op. cit., pp. 544-549; Hayes, Carlton, J. H., op. cit., p. 291; also Hayes, Carlton, J. H.: *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, pp. 456, 457.

By pursuing a policy of peace it was possible to keep down expenditures, make payments on the national debt, and reduce the land tax. This latter was agreeable to the landholders and to the towns. By removal of duties from more than a hundred British exports, and nearly forty articles of importation he encouraged commerce and trading. He broke through the prejudice which restricted the commerce of the colonies to the mother-country and colonial products soon were to be found in any part of Europe. There was quick upgrowth of prosperity. "The material progress of the country was such as England had never seen before."[1] Exports of manufactured products increased greatly. There was a rapid extension of commerce and accumulation of wealth.[2]

Cheyney wrote of Walpole and the times:

> "His greatness was displayed in avoiding unwise actions during the quiet routine of government rather than in taking the leadership in stirring events during a period of action. This, indeed, was the general character of the eighteenth century. It was not a period marked by such conflicts on great matters as the Reformation in the sixteenth century or the Great Rebellion in the seventeenth. But England during this time was growing more moderate, reasonable, peaceful, and wealthy, and Walpole was the ideal leader for such a time."[3]

B. Social and Cultural Conditions

In general the social structure of the eighteenth century rested on injustice, poverty, and suffering. In Great Britain alone were the people even reputed to have a share in the government. French philosophers who saw so much power vested in the Parliament in Great Britain, which they considered a representative body, could not be too loud in their praise of 'English liberty'. However, closer investigation would reveal that Parliament represented the people of Great Britain only in name.

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1. Green, John Richard, op. cit., p. 444
2. Cf., Ibid., pp. 444, 445; Cheyney, pp. 546-548.
3. op. cit., p. 548

Parliament was comprised of two legislative assemblies or 'Houses', neither of which could make laws without the consent of the other. The House of Lords was frankly aristocratic and undemocratic; its members were the 'lords spiritual'—rich and influential bishops of the Anglican Church,—and the 'lords temporal' or peers, haughty descendants of the ancient feudal nobles or haughty heirs of millionaires recently ennobled by the king. These proud gentlemen were mainly landlords and quite selfish and undemocratic. The House of Commons, supposedly representative of the people, was, in the eighteenth century, elected without the voice of the majority of the people of Great Britain. There was a property test for voters; those able to afford it often feared to vote independently, and a good price was to be had for votes. Representation between different sections of the country was without reason; old communities that had ceased to exist still had representation, while new populous and opulent cities were without any. Purchase of votes and bribery were the order of the day. Politics was a gentlemen's game; members of the House of Lords had their purchased representatives in the House of Commons. It has been estimated that fewer than 1500 persons controlled a majority in the House of Commons. Thus Parliament in the eighteenth century represented neither the different classes of society nor the masses of the population.[1]

Agricultural policies of the Parliament increased the land-holdings of the landed aristocrats and deprived tenants of their customary rights to common holdings. The country was filled with paupers maintained by the taxes. Over two hundred offenses, such as stealing a shilling or cutting down an apple tree, were punishable by death. Religious intolerance flourished —Quakers were imprisoned and Roman Catholics were debarred from office and Parliament. Poor people might be shut up in workhouses and see their children carted off to factories. Sailors were kidnapped for the royal navy; farmhands were practically bound to the soil like a serf.[2]

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1. Cf., Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, pp. 430-435.
2. Cf., Ibid., pp. 436, 437.

Changes, at least as startling as those which occurred in the political and social realm, were brought about in the attitude of intellectuals toward science, religion and art. "The roots of the new 'enlightment' lay in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but its greatest spread and most obvious fruitage were so characterisitc of the eighteenth that it is this century which is known as the age of the 'enlightenment'."[1] Concepts involved in this eighteenth century enlightenment were: (1) the substitution of the natural for the supernatural, of science for theology, and the assumption that the whole universe of matter and mind is guided and controlled by natural law; (2) the exaltation and almost deification of human reason which could and should be utilized by the individual to discover the laws of nature and to enable him to conform his life to them; (3) the assumption that man would use his reason and obey the natural law, which promised the speedy progress and ultimate perfectibility of the human race; (4) a tender regard for the natural rights of the individual and a preference for the social blessings of an enlightened humanitarianism.[2]

However there was little evidence of enlightenment in the social conduct of the people. As Tyerman writes:

> "In the higher classes of society, the taint left by Charles II and his licentious court still festered. Among the lower classes, laziness and dishonesty were next to universal. Superstition flourished almost as vigorously as it had done in the middle ages, and nearly every old mansion in England was haunted by a ghost, and almost every parish tormented by a witch. In the metropolis, Ranelagh and Vauxhall were the resorts of thousands, of the upper strata of society; and puppet-shows, hops, balls, prize-fights, merry meetings, cock-fights, and badger-baitings furnished entertainment for the masses. In the rural districts, rustic squires found their greatest enjoyment in hunting foxes, and in gorging venison, and guzzling sack; while the peasan-

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1. Hayes: *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, p. 511.
2. Ibid., pp. 511, 512.

try relieved the monotony of their daily toils at wakes and fairs, and in wrestling, cudgel playing, and foot racing."[1]

Not only were the moral conditions of England at a low level, but actual crudity and even brutality were widespread. This spirit was repeatedly revealed in the experiences of the early Methodist preachers. Cennick has left an account of a riot at Exeter that lasted for several days in which men and women were shamefully treated. Women were called 'Cennicking whores' and 'Whitefieldite bitches'. Men and women were stripped of their clothing and rolled in the mud, and suffered other indignities. This riot apparently lasted for about twelve days. In all the brutality and roughness, Cennick advised against violence upon the part of the Christians.[2] Similar testimony comes from others:

> "Here then was the rudeness of the peasantry, the brutality of the town populace, the prevalence of drunkenness, the growth of impiety, a general deadness to religion; and it was this brutish ignorance, this stiff-necked degradation, this famine of the word of God and all means of moral elevation, which at once demanded the labors of such men as Whitefield, Wesley, and their coadjutors, and inspired them with that resistless zeal which made their preaching like the fire and the hammer upon the flinty rock."[3]

Extravagance was the order of the day. Licentiousness, drunkenness, and general corruption were everywhere present. Education of the poor, that might have improved the state of things, was greatly neglected.[4]

C. Religious Conditions

"In the eighteenth century, down to the rise of Methodism, the religious condition of England was such as to call imperatively for a great reformation. The decline of a living faith in the verities of the gospel had not lessened the bitterness of

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1. Tyerman, the Rev. L.: *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley.* 6 Volumes. Vol. I, pp. 62, 63.
2. Cf., Cennick, John: *An Account of a late riot at Exeter*, pp. 4-14.
3. Knight, Mrs. Helen C.: *Lady Huntington and Her Friends*, p. 43.
4. Cf., Tyerman, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 63, 64.

ecclesiastical warfare."[1] The Church, which ought to have reformed the nation and built against its moral and spiritual decay, needed to be reformed itself. The clergy of the Established Church was ignorant and corrupt. Bishop Burnet, in 1713 wrote:

> 'Our ember weeks are the burden and grief of my life. The much greater part of those who come to be ordained are ignorant to a degree not to be apprehended by those who are not obliged to know it. The easiest part of knowledge is that to which they are the greatest strangers; I mean the plainest parts of the Scriptures. They can give no account, or at least a very imperfect one, of the contents even of the gospels, or of the catechism itself.' "[2]

Another had exclaimed:

> "When I see the gross ignorance of those who apply for ordination, and the want of piety and scriptural knowledge in those already in the sacred office, these things pierce my soul and make me cry out, 'Oh, that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest.' "[3]

Among the Dissenters—chiefly Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists—the situation was not greatly better. Though they claimed credit for contributing to the Protestant succession and for promoting a better observance of the sabbath, as well as the more frequent preaching of the high church clergy, still they lamented that numbers of their ministers were immoral, negligent and insufficient; that they devoted too much time to the fashionable study of the classics, and read their sermons instead of preaching them.[4]

> "The population had doubled since the settlement of the church under Elizabeth, yet no provision had been made for increasing proportionally the means of moral and religious instruction, which in the beginning had been insufficient. In reality, though the temporal advantages of Christianity extended to all classes, the great majority of

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1. Fisher, George Park: *History of the Christian Church*, p. 509.
2. Quoted by Tyerman, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 64.
3. Knight, op. cit., p. 30.
4. Cf., Tyerman, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 63, 64.

the populace knew nothing more of religion than its forms. They had been Papists formerly, and now were Protestants, but they had never been Christians. The Reformation had taken away the ceremonies to which they were attached, and, substituted nothing in their stead. There was the Bible indeed, but to the great body of the laboring people, the Bible was even in the letter a sealed book."[1]

Controversies concerning doctrine and practise were many and violent. Many pamphlets were published and there were fierce feuds among those who ought to have dwelt together in unity.

In religious thinking rationalism was dominant. Reflection upon the world of nature and of man led to the conclusion that there is a God, that the human soul is immortal, and that man must pursue virtue to attain to a state of bliss after death. God created the universe and then he withdrew, leaving it to the control of the laws of nature. Human reason is the only source of knowledge. True religion consisted of a knowledge of God and the pursuit of virtue, which was largely identified with humanitarianism. This prevailing 'deism' of the age had degenerated into a species of intellectual dry-rot, and Wesley's movement came in the nature of a welcome reaction.[2]

A writer of the middle nineteenth century declared that never had a century risen on Christian England so void of soul and faith as that which opened with Queen Anne, and which reached its misty noon beneath the second George. There was no freshness in the past, and no promise in the future. The Puritans were buried, and the Methodists were not born. The reign of buffoonery was past, but the reign of faith and earnestness had not commenced.[3] This was the kind of world in which the Methodist movement arose.

D. The Methodist Movement

There were certain indications in men and movements, early in the eighteenth century, looking toward better things in the

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1. Knight, op. cit., p. 42.
2. Cf., Qualben, Lars P. *A History of the Christian Church*, p. 372; Kershner, Frederick D. *Pioneers of Christian Thought*, p. 313.
3. Cf. Tyerman, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 61.

religious world. Some of these were Bishop Berkeley's missionary zeal; William Law's great hortatory work (Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life); Isaac Watts' hymns, and the religious societies. The earliest of these was formed by a group of young men in London about 1678, for prayer, reading the Scriptures, the cultivation of a religious life, frequent communion, aid to the poor, to soldiers, sailors, and prisoners, and the encouragement of preaching. They spread rapidly. By 1700 there were nearly a hundred in London alone, and they were to be found in many parts of England and even in Ireland. One of these societies was formed by John Wesley's father, Samuel Wesley, in Epworth in 1702. They were composed almost exclusively of communicants of the establishment. Many of the clergy looked upon the movement as 'enthusiastic', or as would now be said fanatical, and after 1710 it measurably declined, though the 'societies' were to continue and be of importance in the beginnings of Methodism.

However these efforts were at best local and partial in their influence and the mass of the people of England was in spiritual lethargy, yet blindly conscious of sin and convinced of the reality of future reward and retribution. Emotions of loyalty to Christ, of salvation through Him, or a present transforming faith had not had been aroused. It needed the appeal of vivid spiritual earnestness, directed to conviction of the heart rather than to considerations of prudence or cold logical argument. This came primarily through the work of three men, the brothers, John and Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield. Their labors were to make England and America vastly different spiritually, and from those transformations results would flow in beneficent streams to all English-speaking lands.[1]

Among the groups of persons who felt attracted to a more earnest religious life was a small band of students at Oxford in the years between 1729 and 1735. They were accustomed to meet for purposes of mutual spiritual improvement. The little club had been founded by Charles Wesley and two fellow stu-

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1. Cf., Walker, Williston: *A History of the Christian Church*, pp. 507-509; Fisher, op. cit., p. 515; Cheyney, op. cit., p. 551; Green, op. cit., p. 446.

dents, Robert Kirkham and William Morgan. They sought progress in their studies, but also engaged in frequent communion, fasting during Lent and on every Wednesday and Friday of the year, discussing the Bible together, visiting the sick and prisoners, and abstaining from most of the common forms of amusement. They were much ridiculed by other students, and were called 'Methodist' because they lived by rule, in a methodical, strictly regulated manner of life. When John Wesley returned to Oxford in November 1729, he became the leader of the group, and soon attracted other students. They prayed together, studied the Greek Testament and the classics, reviewed the work of the past day, talked over plans for the next day, read divinity, and brought all their conduct under searching review through a system of self-examination.

The members of the Club were members of the established church and their ideals were high-churchly. They were still bent on working out the salvation of their own souls, and were far from what Methodism was to be. They resembled more the Anglo-Catholic movement of the nineteenth century than the Methodism of history.

George Whitefield joined the Club early in 1735 just before the Wesleys left for the colony of Georgia and their variety of experiences on the voyage and later in the colony. Whitefield was a strong accession to the group. A crisis in his own religious experience had been reached during a severe illness in the spring of 1735, and he emerged from it in joyous consciousness of peace with God. A year later he sought and received episcopal ordination, and at once began his marvellous career as a preacher.[1] "No Anglo-Saxon of the eighteenth century showed such pulpit power. A man absolutely without denominational feeling, in an age when such feelings were usually intense, he was ready to preach anywhere, and in any pulpit open to him."[2]

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1. Cf., Walker, op. cit., pp. 509-511; Cheyney, op. cit., pp. 551, 552; Fisher, op. cit., pp. 515, 516; Telford, John: *The Life of John Wesley*, pp. 55-73; Hayes: *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, pp. 514, 515.
2. Walker, op. cit., pp. 510, 511.

Leaders of the Methodist Club did not remain long in Oxford, nor did their movement prove of great influence on the University itself.

The death of the father of the Wesleys left them less bound to home. That occurred on April 25, 1735, and in October of the same year John and Charles left for the colony of Georgia. John went out as a missionary of the Anglican Church and Charles as secretary to General Oglethorpe, governor of the colony.

On board ship the Wesleys, and two others of the Methodist Club, pursued their religious exercises and services for others very assiduously. However, an experience in a storm at sea, in which a group of Moravians, headed by Bishop David Nitschmann, exemplified a joyous courage and trust in God that was not yet the possession of John Wesley, greatly troubled him spiritually, and he lost no time in seeking help from their leader in the Georgia colony, the Rev. G. Spangenberg.

With an embarrassing directness Spangenberg asked Wesley questions about his own salvation that were, at the time, more troublesome than helpful. However he labored on in Georgia until the end of 1737, when he returned to England, arriving there on February 1, 1738. His brother Charles preceded him, returning to England in 1736. John was quite convinced of the futility of his American labors, and more, that his own faith was a 'fair-weather religion'. Telford writes:

> "He had shown his faith by his works, giving all his goods to the poor, and following after charity. But if a storm arose, he began to doubt. What if the Gospel were not true, if all his zeal and suffering had been in vain? 'I went to America to convert the Indians, but oh! who shall convert me?' This was the burden of his soul in the hour when fear of death terrified him. He closes his Georgian Journal with that painful summary of the lessons of his mission: 'It is now two years and almost four months since I left my native country in order to teach the Georgian Indians the nature of Christianity. But what have I learned myself in the mean-

time? Why (what I the least of all suspected), that I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God'. He speaks, as St. Paul spoke to the Corinthians, of his labours and sufferings, but confesses that these did not entitle him to be called a Christian."[1]

Wesley desired with all his heart to find that vital faith which would deliver him from all fear and doubt and bring assurance of acceptance with God.

The answer to Wesley's desire was near at hand. Within a week of his return both he and his brother were in familiar intercourse with Peter Boehler, a Moravian, who had been delayed in London, on his way to Georgia. He taught that conversion was often instantaneous, and that a self-surrendering faith resulted in holiness and happiness as its fruits. Conversations between the Wesleys and Boehler continued until Boehler sailed for America early in May, 1738. On May 1st Boehler had founded, at the home of James Hutton in London, near Temple Bar, a little society, which later moved to 32 Fetter Lane. It was the first of the Brethren societies in London.[2] In November, 1742, after the Wesleys had separated from the Moravians, it was organized as a Moravian congregation by Spangenberg.[3]

The turning point in John Wesley's career soon arrived. Boehler had written him from Southampton: "Beware of the sin of unbelief, and if you have not conquered it yet, see that you conquer it this very day, through the blood of Jesus Christ.[4] The experience of conversion came to his brother, Charles, then suffering from a serious illness, on May 21, 1738.[5] Three days

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1. Op. cit., p. 92.

2. Cf., Walker, op. cit., pp. 512, 513; Telford, op. cit., pp. 94-100; Hutton, J. E.: *A History of the Moravian Church*, pp. 288-294; Laver, James: *Wesley*, pp. 64-68.

3. Hamilton, J. Taylor: *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church*, p. 128.

4. Hutton, J. E.: *A History of the Moravian Church*, p. 292; Cf., Lockwood, the Rev. J. P.; *Memorials of the Life of Peter Boehler*, Bishop of the Church of the United Brethren, where Boehler's whole letter is given, pp. 81, 82.

5. Cf., Walker, op. cit., p. 513.

later, on May 24, the transforming experience came to John Wesley himself. Many writers might be consulted, for the story is well known, and there is general agreement about the details. Telford's account states:

> "At five that morning (i.e. May 24, 1738) he opened his Testament on the words, 'There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises'. In the afternoon some one asked him to go to St. Paul's. The anthem was 'Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord . . . O Israel, trust in the Lord, for with the Lord there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his sins.'
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> "That evening he went very unwillingly to a Society in Aldersgate Street where some one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. 'About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.' Wesley at once began to pray earnestly for his enemies, and publicly testified to all present what he now felt. He was much tempted when he returned home, but when he prayed the temptations fled. He soon found how different they were from his former struggles. Then he was sometimes, if not often, conquered; now he was always conqueror."[1]

Of the far-reaching significance of this experience there can be no question. It was the light of all his theological insight and the compelling power for all his wide ministry in the years that followed.

Desiring to know more of the Moravians who had helped him so much thus far, within three weeks of his experience he left for a visit of several weeks duration among the Moravians in Germany. He found much to admire among them but was not

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1. Op. cit., pp. 100, 101; Cf., Hutton: *History of the Moravian Church*, pp. 292, 293; Mumford, A. H.: *Our Church's Story*, p. 225.

pleased with all. The adversely critical attitude toward the Moravians increased in the next few years, and was a factor in the eventual separation of the Wesleys from their Societies.[1]

The two Wesleys now preached as opportunities came, though many pulpits were closed to their 'enthusiasm'. They spoke chiefly in the religious societies, particularly about London.

Early in 1739 George Whitefield was developing a great work in Bristol, and there on February 17 he began preaching in the open air to the coal miners of Kingswood. He entered into friendly relations with Howell Harris, Welsh lay preacher, who had been working with great success, since 1736. Whitefield invited John Wesley to Bristol, and although he hesitated about field-preaching, eventually couldn't resist the opportunity to proclaim the Gospel to the needy, and began in Bristol what was thenceforth to be his practice for more than fifty years. Both the Wesleys, Whitefield and other associates that gathered about them, some of them lay-preachers, toured England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, declaring everywhere the message of the Gospel of grace. Although the creation of the Methodist Church as such was a gradual work, the evangelical societies that eventually became Methodist, Calvinistic Methodist or Moravian, grew rapidly, and both they and the established churches and the older non-conformist bodies, beyond the range of nominal adherents to the Wesleyan movement, as well were influenced and stimulated by the revival that covered all Britain and Ireland and was carried to America. In addition the Methodist Church in its various branches stems from these beginnings.[2]

In his "Introduction" to *The Life of John Wesley*, John Telford quotes Lecky (II, 521), whom he calls "the greatest historian of the eighteenth century", as expressing his deliberate judgment on the far-reaching results of Methodism in these words:

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1. Cf., Walker, op. cit., pp. 513, 514; Fisher, op. cit., pp. 516, 518; Telford, op. cit., pp. 108-111; Laver, op. cit., pp. 73-75; Mumford, op. cit., p. 225.
2. Cf., Walker, op. cit., pp. 513-519; Laver, op. cit., pp. 79-106; Telford, op. cit., pp. 119-128, 145-170; Fisher, op. cit., pp. 517-524.

> "Although the career of the elder Pitt and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes in the reign of George II, they must yield, I think, in real importance to that religious revolution which shortly before had begun in England by the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield."[1]

He further declares that Mr. Lecky assigns to Methodism a prominent place among those influences which saved England from the revolutionary spirit which laid France in ruins, and shows how fortunate it was that the vast extension of manufacturing industry in the later part of the century had been preceded by a religious revival which opened a mainspring of moral and religious energy among the poor, and at the same time gave a powerful impulse to the philanthropy of the rich. The 'preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield' refers undoubtedly to the whole company of Methodist preachers. John Cennick, as will be revealed, was an important member of that group.[2]

Thus, it has been shown, in the period under review, that the Orange-Stuarts, and their successors, the House of Hanover, kept the throne notwithstanding the two Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745. The desire of the English people to return to the old line gradually passed away. This was partly a result of the unimportance into which the office of king was gradually falling. The power of parliament was really supreme. England was practically an aristocracy, governed by the leaders of the classes which were represented in parliament. The growth of the power of parliament, of the cabinet which drew its power from parliament, and of the prime minister who could speak in the name of the majority in parliament, had reduced the royal power to little more than a right to accept the advice which the ministry gave. "Ministers are the king in this country",[3] George II once said, and his complaint was scarcely an exaggeration of the fact.

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1. P. XIII.
2. Ibid., pp. XIII, XIV.
3. Cheyney, op. cit., p. 573. For a summary of the period, Cf., pp. 572-574.

Commerce and the wealth drawn from commerce were becoming constantly more important and more influential. Although England was still fundamentally an agricultural country and the landed aristocracy were the most influential class in the nation, yet the interests of commerce and the prominence of money questions were far greater than they had been in any previous period. The Bank of England had been founded in 1694, the money to carry on the wars was mostly borrowed, and the national debt was made larger and larger.

The interests of England had now spread from one half of the little island of Britain to an empire. The parliaments of England and Scotland were united in 1707 and Ireland was more than ever subordinated to the prejudices and interests of England. Interests and ambitions beyond her own island limits had led England to participate in several of the wars of the period, and this was to be an increasing prospect. The growing importance of her colonial possessions assured this.

In politics, in literature, in science, and in religion the first half of the eighteenth century was, at its best, a period of reasonableness, moderation, and polish; at its worst, a period of corruption, formality, and unbelief in any except material objects. Before this period was over, however, Methodism and the evangelical movement aroused the nation not only to religious interests but also to a more active intellectual life. In politics William Pitt had awakened a new fire of patriotism, and parliament, if not less corrupt, became at least responsive to higher and nobler impulses. These were the times of John Cennick.

CHAPTER III

The Life of John Cennick

A. Early Years of John Cennick.

John Cennick was born at Reading, Berkshire, England on December 12th, 1718. He was the son of George and Anna Cennick. His parents were members of the Church of England, and three days after his birth had him baptized at St. Lawrence Church in Reading. J. E. Hutton[1] gives the entry as follows:

> " Dec. 4th, 1718, John, S. of George and Anna Cennick.' We must, however, add eleven days to fit this with the new style of reckoning, which commenced on Sept. 14th, 1752."

Although his parents were of the established church, his grandfather and grandmother Cennick had been Quakers and had suffered for their faith.[2] What we know about his parentage and ancestry is derived largely from his own account of them. In a paragraph he tells of his ancestry and of his family and childhood training:

> "My grandfather and grandmother Cennick, were once very great clothiers; but when George Fox and William Penn began preaching, they became Quakers, and in the days of Oliver Cromwell, and in part of King Charles's reign, they suffered the 'loss of all things', and were imprisoned in Reading gaol, and (I have heard my mother say) were so far reduced, that my grandmother knit or wove half-penny laces for her living, in the prison. In several books published by the Quakers of their sufferings, mention is made of them: but my father, after he was married to my mother, was baptized into the church, and from my infancy I was carefully instructed by my mother in the principles of religion; who also kept me strict to church, and taught me prayer

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1. *John Cennick, A Sketch*, p. 5, footnote #1; Cf., Adding eleven days would be Dec. 15th, not the 12th. Apparently the date in the record is that of the baptism, not of birth; *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXII *Supplement*, p. 406.

2. Many writers assert Cennick was of Bohemian descent; that his first progenitor in England was a Bohemian Protestant, a refugee from the persecutions following the Battle of White Mountain; that the name was Kunik. Cf., Hutton, *John Cennick, A Sketch*, p. 5: Hasse, E. R., *The Moravians*, p. 75; Hamilton, op. cit., p. 128.

morning and evening, and would not suffer me to play on the Lord's day, but confined me to read or say hymns all day long with my sisters. This I then counted the worst of bondage, and indeed cruelty. So very prone was I to be disobedient and wicked, even when young; I even envied other children who were not restrained as I was, and hoped, as I grew up, to get their liberty.[1]

He appears to have been a rather normal boy: fond of play, of fine clothes, and of praise; but afraid to swear or take God's name in vain.[2] At times he was even inclined to be serious and dutiful. He describes himself, of obstinate temper, capable of being furiously provoked and with lips full of lies continually. However, after his passion was over he dreaded to go to bed, lest he should drop into hell before morning. He was probably serious beyond his years. He attended daily prayers at St. Lawrence Church, as he had been taught, until he was about thirteen. He didn't care to go to sleep at night until he had prayed and promised God how good he would be next day, and often in moments of bitter repentance, after telling lies, breaking the Sabbath, stealing from his school-fellows or being disobedient to his parents, he was reminded of the grim text: "The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it."[3]

An experience in his childhood seemed to be something of a preparation for the task that lay before him. With his mother he went to call on Mrs. Cennick's aunt who was then on her death-bed. The little fellow was the first in the room and heard the old lady say to her maid who attended her "Mary, I have something to say to you; it may be you may think it a lie, but indeed it is truth. This night the Lord stood by me, and in-

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1. "The Life of Mr. John Cennick," from *Village Discourses, or Forty Plain and Short Sermons on the More Important Doctrines of the Gospel*, by the late Rev. John Cennick. This autobiographical sketch has been revised and enlarged by Matthew Wilks, his addition being clearly marked. I am following this account largely and shall refer to this as autobiography.
2. Ibid., P. III, P. IV.
3. Proverbs 30:17.

vited me to drink of the fountain of life freely; and I shall stand before the Lord bold as a lion."[1] What a deep impression this solemn event made on young Cennick's tender conscience! He was awe-struck, and then began to pray that before he died, he, too, like his aunt, might know that he was going to heaven.

Soon after, Cennick's mother entered the room and hearing the dying woman shout for joy, and cry out in assurance of faith, she drew near and said with tears, "Poor soul". Immediately the aunt cried out, "Who dares call me poor? I am rich in Christ! I have got Christ! I am rich!" And she continued in this manner of rejoicing until Cennick and his mother left her. Writes Cennick:

> "The words she uttered indeed pierced my soul, so that I could not rest day nor night, but was wishing continually after, if I thought of death and sickness, O that I may be assured of heaven before I die! and began to fear to die greatly. These were the most early convictions I can remember; nor do I know any time between whiles, till my conversion, when I did not meditate on my aunt's last words; for it was not long after I had seen her, that she slept in the bosom of the Lamb."[2]

At thirteen Cennick went to London to seek apprenticeship to some trade. He was, however, disappointed and returned home with his mother. Soon after he heard of another place and went again, but was again unsuccessful, continuing to seek until he had gone eight times, but still without success, as he put it, "not being permitted by divine providence to agree with any, though my will was much then to be in the world, promising myself great peace and many enjoyments, when I should come to be my own master."[3] At last he was bound to a carpenter but even that did not materialize when the time came for consummating the arrangement.

At the age of fifteen Cennick rebelled against parental restrictions and devoted himself to a life of the worldly amusements of the day, such as seeing and reading plays, singing songs,

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1. Cennick, Autobiography, p. iii.
2. Ibid., pp. iii, iv.
3. Ibid., p. iv.

talking of the heathen gods, of the wars of the Jews and Greeks, of Alexander the Great, and in the cursed delusion of card-playing, horse-racing, attending dancing assemblies and walking with young company. As he put it, "thus loving ungodliness more than goodness, and to talk of lies more than righteousness."[1] If he had the money he would have spent more time in the theatres of his day. However, the life of gaiety was near to its end.

B. Spiritual Regeneration

He continued to spend his life as just described until Easter, 1735. Then began the struggle that lasted over two years, but after despair came hope and joy and light. Because of its influence on his whole future life, his preaching and his theology, it seems valuable to have his own description of both his dire despondency and the glorious hope that followed his regenerating experience.[2]

> "When as I was walking hastily in Cheapside in London, the Hand of the Lord touched me! I felt at once an uncommon fear and dejection, and tho' all my days, since I could remember, had been bitter thro' the strength of convictions, and the fear of going to Hell; yet I knew not any weight before like this. At first I thought it might be owing to my missing the Lord's Supper on Easter Day; which I had done, because I had not opportunity to fast in Passion-week as I would (being at my brother's house, where I thought I should be laugh'd at for it;) and I did not dare to communicate unprepar'd, and without the wedding-garment.
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> "I continued dull and thoughtful all the time I was in town, nor would sights and songs divert my trouble. I then thought it might be the thick unhealthy air makes me

1. Ibid., p. v; cf., *Sacred Hymns for the Children of God, in the Days of their Pilgrimage*, by John Cennick, The Preface, in which he gives an account of his spiritual experience, most of which is identical with the "Autobiography". This is his earliest hymn book, published in 1741.

2. Because of its paramount significance in understanding Cennick, his complete account is given as "Appendix A" post, pp. 238-247.

out of order, and by going into the country I shall be well; but such a journey did I never take before; nor sooner had I left the city, but the terrors of the Lord came about me, and the pains of hell took hold on me! Tho' the sun shone beautifully, and the day was pleasant, it brought no comfort to me. I came to my house heavy and disconsolate, and would have pray'd but could not! My grief was too great, and increased night and day exceedingly! I grew feeble, and was sore smitten, and roar'd for the very disquietness of my heart!

"I went on thus near a year, hoping to get the victory over it, tho' utterly ignorant what my distemper was; often looking back to my innocent life, and wonder'd why God had singled out me to make miserable: and when I found freedom to pray, I begg'd the Lord to give me a friend, who would join with me in religion, that in his company I might drive away my grief, and go on my way rejoicing. Not long after I contracted an acquaintance with one who was serious, and in a short time with another whom I soon loved better than the first; not for the regard he had to religion, but for his natural sweet disposition, and merry behaviour.

"And now we were so pleas'd with each others company, that we were never so well as when we were together; especially when the other went to Oxford; and I was generally eas'd from my convictions all that while we were together: for so greatly did it displease the Lord, that he then withdrew his hand, and for a while let me alone.

"But it was not long before the weight return'd, and whenever I was walking alone either in the fields or roads, every thing appear'd so strange and wild, that I often resolved not to look up: and wished to fly to some solitary place, where I might dwell in a cave, lying on the leaves of trees, and feeding on the natural fruits of the earth. Whoever I met I envy'd their happiness. Whatever I heard grieved me; and whatever I said or did so troubled me, that I repented that I stirr'd, or broke silence. If I laughed

at any one thing my heart smote me immediately, and if the occasion was a foolish jest or lye (sic), I thought alas! I help'd to ruin not only my own soul, but the souls of others also; and such places of Scripture would come in my mind, Wo be to them that laugh now, for they shall mourn and weep. And without are dogs, and whoso loveth, or maketh a lye. And that they all may be damn'd who take pleasure in unrighteousness.

I left off singing songs, playing at cards, seeing plays, and such like; finding plainly they were vanity of vanities. And indeed when I looked into the world, all things seemed to be unnatural and unpleasant as if I had been banished into a foreign land; my own town, house, and relations being all strange to me. Then I wished strongly to get into a Romish monastry (sic) and to spend my life in holy retirement; but the want of money for my journey seem'd to prevent me from doing it.

"Often such a confusion of thought came upon me in bed, that I was forced to rise, and walk about the chamber. If I was up, I endeavour'd to overcome it by running, or eating, or talking; and when all these fail'd, I thought physic may do me good. And then I took physic, but alas! the true physician I knew not. When between whiles I was somewhat easier, I began to cry peace to my soul; I have not been so very great a sinner as such an one, soul be of good cheer. But my pangs soon return'd, and the more I try'd to quiet my accusing conscience, the more it testify'd against me; and my sorrows were so multiply'd, that I was even buried in affliction.

"All this while I had no power over sin, nor the least strength to resist temptations, being carnal, and sold under sin, I committed it continually, tho' not in the eyes of the world. My chief sins were pride, murmuring against God, blasphemy, disobedience, and evil concupiscence; sometimes I strove against them, but finding myself always conquer'd, I concluded there was no help. Then was I weary

of life, and often pray'd that God would hide me in the grave; or at least, suffer me to be made, that I might not be sensible of my many misfortunes. Sometimes a spark of fear and hope, and hell and heaven, would so confusedly come into my mind, that I scarce could forbear blaspheming aloud; and if I strove to pray, such horrid sentences against God came into my mind, that instead of opening my mouth I was fixing my teeth together, lest I should utter them. Then the Tempter so powerfully suggested God look'd to the heart, and not to the words, that I more and more thought I was predestinated to misery everlasting. Often too as I was walking, I found such strong temptations to curse and swear, that I have stood considering whether I have not really spoken; and I have expected every moment to have the Devil let loose upon me, and to fall into all manner of wickedness."[1]

He then tells of his reactions at the services of the church, his plans to do glorious things for the church when his day of wealth should arrive. His mind-wandering would be rudely upset by the concluding prayers when his terror would return. Then he would promise God to do better and make his formal worship less a mockery.

Because all his spiritual exercises seemed so dissatisfying to him he determined to cease praying. The result was that he quickly turned to agnostic and even atheistic thoughts. However he testifies that whenever he read the Scriptures his heart responded to its witness to the truth and he admitted that there is doubtless a God who judgeth the earth.

The terrors and burdens of the night were worse than those of the day. He feared everything that stirred, feared that he might see an apparition, feared the Devil. Then he again became convinced that there was a God, but in his agony and God's apparent unwillingness to consider him, he felt strongly tempted to curse God. He became convinced that though there is a God that God had forsaken him and doomed him to damna-

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1. Ibid., pp. VI-XI. Cf., Autobiography pp. v-vi.

tion. He feared the day of the Lord's return and of judgment, but felt appointed to wait out his time without hope.

He sought to escape his troubles by going out on Salisbury Plain by night and being alone and away from the world with its troubles, and in fact to wander there until starvation should ease him forever from the world and its troubles and tears. This failed too.

Throughout all his calamity he could not be thankful to God for any of the temporal blessings he received. These seemed not to break the awful clouds of darkness that encompassed his soul and that he wanted only to know that he had a part in the Lord Jesus.

Then occasionally a glimmer of hope of salvation came to him. He seemed to understand that possibly the Lord was chastening him for a good purpose. He even sometimes seemed to hear a voice telling him that he would bear Christ's Name before many people and through that testimony many would be added to the Lord. Then his own terror and his own inadequacy would be quickened and he would think, 'how can I bear thy Name to others when I stand to be lost myself?' 'How can I bear thy Name when I have no learning, nor the understanding of the Scriptures.' Then it would be impressed that this was the divine intention and God would supply His strength to overcome Cennick's inadequacies. But since that kind of labourer in the Lord's vineyard then was an unheard of thing, he returned to his despondency.

After the terror of his conviction of sin had remained with Cennick for two years, he began to fear that he would never die, or live to a great age, and he began to pray for death, even at the hazard of falling into hell. Such thoughts caused him to awake and arise at night, and each unusual noise that broke the night silence filled him with fears.

Since he found that pride in apparel and spirit, lust, covetousness and passion still ruled him, even in his despondency and conviction of sin, he sought through much praying, fasting, and works of mortification and denial to overcome them. When he

had done all these and yet had no relief he became convinced that salvation was not of works. He hated his own righteousness and counted it as filthy rags, yet he feared more the turning back into the world than even his present affliction. He even feared turning back to the world more than the thoughts of hell. He was resolved to go forward and perish at the feet of Jesus.

He gave up his last and dearest friend. When he had thrown off all thoughts of being free again, yet would not turn to the world or oppose Christ, then the storms of conviction broke upon him in full fury. All his sins, his secret acts of uncleanness, everything that was evil in his life came to give him the fear of hell any moment.

In his employment he avoided people, and likewise in his leisure. He avoided his own relatives and found his own home unsympathetic with his troubles and he was condemned by his acquaintances. He envied those who had fallen asleep in death.

His desperation reached its zenith in August 1737, and in utter despair he waited on God to cast him down to hell, yet continued to call upon Jesus to remember His blood, and tears, and sufferings, and if there was room for him in favor, to reveal it. He intreated for mercy for Christ's sake alone. The hour of his extremity was to prove to be the hour of God's opportunity. It hastened on. Hear it in his own words:

> "I was still bent to go into some solitary place, that I might there find the happiness of waiting on God. Tho' I had often before been hindered, I resolv'd to try once more and fix'd for it the 7th day of September, 1737. I paid every one to whom I owed anything, intending to take a Bible and Common Prayer Book, with Hugo's Emblems: and prayed my journey might be prosperous. As I lay awake on the 6th day strange heaviness came upon me, and when I arose it continued. My mind was full of fear and trouble, and I was, I think, more dejected than ever; I purposed notwithstanding to be gone before the next sun-rising. While I was sitting and reflecting thereon, the saints' bell rang at

St. Lawrence's Church for prayers. At first I was careless about going, but after considering what the people would say, and what they would think if I missed church when I was in town; and that it might stagger some, fearing I was negligent, or gone back, I concluded in my own breast to go. And when I was risen up, I again thought, I shall be far enough off about this time tomorrow, and I may as well forbear to go now; it is but for once, and there is no good there for me, I may as well keep my place, and be content. I sat down again, but was so uneasy, that I was obliged to get up and go. I went out like some outcast into a foreign land; my heart was ready to burst. My soul at the brink of hell, above measure disconsolate and heavy. Had any met me, my countenance would have betray'd me, as well as a low voice and tears. When I had enter'd the church, and fallen on my knees, I began murmuring (as I did often) because my cross seemed more heavy than ever was laid on anyone beside; and how untroubled all the children of God pass'd to Heaven, and how full of terror I must go down to Hell! and I was as if the sword of the Lord was dividing asunder my joints, and marrow: my soul and spirit; till near the end of the Psalms, when these words were read, Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all! And he that putteth his trust in God shall not be destitute: I had just room to think, who can be more destitute than me? when I was overwhelmed with joy, I believed there was mercy. My heart danced for joy, and my dying soul reviv'd! I heard the voice of Jesus saying, I am thy salvation. I no more groaned under the weight of sin. The fear of hell was taken away, and being sensible that Christ loved me, and died for me, I rejoiced in God, my Saviour.

"This joy and peace in believing filled me about three or four hours; and I began to vow everlasting obedience, and how faithfully I would stand for the Lord all the days of my life. In this my prosperity I said I shall never be moved. Thou Lord hast made my hill so strong! But it was not long

before He hid His face, and I was troubled. Satan was suffer'd to buffet me violently, and to suggest, where is now thy God? How do I know but this is delusion? May it not be the Lord has shewed me this as an aggravation to my torment, when I am cast away! My horrors were so great, that I sweated, pray'd, and cry'd aloud for mercy! And when I saw no help, I drank the cup which my Father had given me; and I said (submitting myself to His righteous will) If the Lord is pleased to cast me off I am content; I would willingly sit down with the saints in the kingdom: but God's will be done.

"About three days after I was sitting thoughtful in an inner room, and in the multitude of my temptations, I imagined that the dull weather might add to my grief; scarce had I thus thought e'er the Sun (which had not shone for some time) shin'd beautifully from the clouds; and the voice of God witnessed at that instant: 'Thus shall the Sun of Righteousness arise on thee'. I believed the promise, and found the love of God again shed abroad in my heart. I saw clearly the will of the Lord in calling me thro' much tribulation, and I said gladly, It is good for me that I have been in trouble.

"I felt great and settled peace daily from this time, and whenever I found temptations I pray'd, and knew always that Scripture true, God will hear them speedily, who cry day and night unto Him. When I laid me down in bed, I laid as in the everlasting arms; and when I rose in the morning the Lord was present, and often my lips have been uttering words of prayer, before I well knew whether I was sleeping, or waking."[1]

Such was the transforming experience of John Cennick! Here was born the certainty of God's love in Cennick's heart. Here was made plain the reality of the Saviour's presence, and the efficacy of His sacrifice for the redemption of men. Deliverance from all sin and the assurance of it was now for Cennick a per-

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1. Cennick, John: *Sacred Hymns for the Children of God, in the Days of their Pilgrimage*: The Preface, pp. xix-xxiii. Cf., Autobiography, pp. x-xii.

sonal experience and possession. Darkness was turned to light! Confusion and uncertainty were transformed into purposefulness and conviction. Not only was significance given to life but power, divine power was released into it, that its objective might be fulfilled. Here was the motivation for the life that was to be filled with almost super-human labors in declaring the gospel of Christ. In the experiences of those dark two years, and the blessed release and salvation which followed them, are to be found the beginnings of Cennick's Christian doctrine that undergirded his thinking through the remainder of his short earlthly life. Wesley's free grace, or as Cennick called it, universal salvation, did not agree with Cennick's own experience, so he could not follow. Whitefield's extreme doctrine of election that included reprobation, did not accord with the God whom Cennick had experienced in Jesus Christ, so, as we shall see, even when inclining toward Whitefield's general doctrinal views, Cennick's spiritual experience would not permit him to conform to those tenets which negated it.

When one understands how this experience of Cennick's dominated all his thinking and acting for the less than eighteen years that remained to his earthly life, and how prodigious were the labors he performed in the light and power of that experience, it is not hard to believe that, had his life been spared to go on into many years as was John Wesley's, his works for the Lord and his fame as a Christian leader might have rivalled his great contemporary's. Nor is it likely, that the significance of that deliverance from sin that occurred in St. Lawrence's Church, September 6th, 1737, can be overstated. It is not surprising that doors of Christian service soon opened for John Cennick.

C. Acquaintance with Kinchin, Whitefield and the Wesleys.

We have already seen that a week before John Wesley met John Cennick, in March 1739, the latter had begun a religious society in Reading, his birthplace and home.[1] That is not the only evidence of his Christian activity; for he was reaching out

1. Ante, p. 1.

in many directions for fellowship, and in pursuit of it became acquainted with the leaders of the incipient Evangelical Revival, and the way eventually opened for Cennick's own Christian career.

This is how it all happened. Late in the year 1738 some one lent Cennick a part of George Whitefield's journal and Cennick reluctantly read it, for he feared to read any books except the Bible and Hugo's "Emblems". Up to the time that he became acquainted with Whitefield's journal the latter was entirely a stranger to him. In the reading of it Cennick was so impressed with the experiences recorded in it that were akin to his own, that he longed to know and fellowship with Whitefield. So intense was his desire for that fellowship that he tells us he went straightway into an upper chamber to pray, if by any means God would permit me to come to the knowledge of this man.[1]

> "When I was on my knees I prayed and said, O Lord Jesus, who knowest well the sorrow of my troubled spirit, who alone canst give me a companion in my way to thee, permit me to be intimate with this thy servant now sent forth to preach thy gospel in other lands: incline him to stoop to hear me, and to speak humbly to me, and so join us together, that together we may be accounted worthy to rest in the kingdom of God forever."[2]

He records, that before he arose from his knees, the Lord answered him and showed him that he would be conversant with Whitefield and beloved by him, and Cennick believed this and rejoiced.

As he sat in the home of a friend one evening, to which he had been invited for supper, he was asked to take a hand at cards; and when he politely refused,—believing that cards at best were a waste of time,—a young man from Oxford also present in the home remarked: "There is just such a stupid religious fellow in Oxford; one Kinchin, whose brother is of our college, and was once as foolish as he, but is much otherwise now."[3] To Cennick

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1. Autobiography, p. xii, gives Cennick's own story of this.
2. Ibid., p. xii.
3. Ibid., p. xii.

this was glad news; and he was so excited and delighted by the prospect of a congenial spiritual companion that he forgot his name, but did remember that he had a brother in Trinity College.

On a rainy Monday morning Cennick started on a journey to Oxford. He had many misgivings about his errand when he came in sight of the town, and strengthened his purpose through seeking God in prayer. Then after a difficult night in a lodging not much better than the street he began his search on the following day. Again and again he had to seek courage from above to complete his errand, and on Wednesday morning he found his man, Mr. Kinchin, and found him just going out to breakfast.

> "I asked him if his name was Kinchin; he told me, Yes. I said, Sir, I hear you are despised on the same account with me, and should be glad to speak with you a quarter of an hour. He then spake kindly unto me, and having bid me come in, asked me if I would join in prayer with him; I told him, with all my heart; when he prayed to God to bless my coming, and to prepare the words which should be spoken to his own glory. After prayer I talked with him some time, yet afraid to mention my temptations and trials, lest he should think them incredible. He asked me if I could go to breakfast with him in Bear Lane, to which I consented; and as soon as breakfast was ended, he desired I would stay while he went to visit a sick person, and he would return."[1]

He then relates how he began a conversation with the woman at whose home they were, and in the course of it he told her much of his personal experience. She, in turn, related her own which was not greatly dissimilar to his. She inquired whether Cennick had related his experience to Mr. Kinchin, and when she learned he had not, earnestly urged him to do it. When Mr. Kinchin returned, with two other gownsmen, Cennick related the Lord's dealings with him, and also before a little society and they all blessed God that He had thus far directed Cennick.

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1. Ibid., p. xiii.

Cennick remarks concerning this visit to Oxford: "By this means I got acquainted with many of the Lord's people; among whom were Mr. John and Charles Wesley, Mr. Hutchins, and Mr. Whitefield; in all which I saw the hand of the Lord clearly; especially in my being intimate with the latter."[1] For Kinchin belonged to that little company of seekers after God known to history as the Oxford Methodists.

Not long after this Cennick learned that Whitefield was in London, and, in order to be sure to see him, he left Reading one evening and walked all night reaching London in the early morning. He inquired at the home of Mr. James Hutton at Temple-bar, early in the morning and found that Whitefield would be there at eight o'clock. He met him and greeted him with affection and stayed with him for several days.[2]

On this visit to London, Cennick met others of that group that was to become increasingly important in the evangelical forces in the British Isles and in America. From his own hand we read:

> "May 14, 1739. I came to London and was received into the Society in Fetter Lane together with my sister, Sally Cennick, and Kezia Wilmot."[3]

One week later Charles Wesley records in his diary: "Monday, May 21 (1739). At Mrs. Claggett's I found Miss Raymond, Rogers, J. Cennick, Harris, Whitefield, Pirian, Mason, the Delamottes. Mr. Claggett was very friendly and invited me to Broadoaks."[4] From another source we have a list of persons afterward in the Moravian connection who were in the personnel of the Fetter Lane Society. The list includes: James Hutton, Richard Viney, Charles Kinchin, John Gambold, Benjamin Ingham, George Stonehouse, Charles Delamotte, William Dela-

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1. Ibid., p. xiv.
2. Ibid., p. xiv. Cf., *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, Vol. I: Note on page 355.
3. *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society.* Vol. VI. "An Account of the Most Remarkable Occurrences in the Awakening at Bristol and Kingswood till the Brethren's Labours began there in 1746." Written by John Cennick in April, 1750, p. 104.
4. *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.* The Early Journal, 1736-39. Edited by John Telford, p. 232.

motte, John Cennick (received May 14, 1739), William Holland etc."[3] In the company of these earnest evangelicals, Cennick learned of the awakening in Bristol and Kingswood, and felt an inexpressible desire to see the work there. He asked the brethren if he might not have leave to visit Bristol, etc., and Mr. Whitefield told him both of his intention of building a school for the colliers children there and that he wished that Cennick would go and become one of the schoolmasters. He wrote of the matter to Mr. John Wesley, and Cennick received an urgent letter from Mr. Wesley to come to him. Cennick records: "I consented with all my heart; and after I had settled my affairs in Reading, I took leave of my relatives and went to Bristol."[1]

On Whit-Monday, June 11, 1739, John Cennick set out from Reading, on a wet morning, accompanied by Br. Ferne, and walked the same day to Sandy Lane, where, because of the lateness of the hour, with no place else open to them, they slept in an old stable on the straw. On the following day they arrived at Bristol. Here is Cennick's record of it:

> "June 12, 1739. We came through Bath to Bristol in the afternoon, but Mr. Wesley was gone for some time to London before we arrived. Mr. Purdy, a tailor from London (and who afterwards joined some with rigid perfectionists in Bristol, leaving Mr. Wesley entirely, and preaching for himself began a quite new sect) received us very kindly. That evening we visited a society in Baldwin Street of religious young Churchmen, who, in a little time afterwards, wholly mingled with the Methodists."[2]

He reports that the brethren received them as became Christians, and, after the society was ended in Baldwin Street, they went to Mr. Wesley's chamber, and Cennick spent his time

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1. *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. XVI, p. 146. Cf., *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, Vol. I, p. 19.

2. *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. VI, p. 104; Cf., *The Moravian Messenger*, Vol. XVI, p. 79.

3. Ibid., p. 79; Cf., *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. VI, p. 106.

there with everything provided for him, in prayer to God. Then on Thursday he was asked to go to Kingswood to hear a young man read a sermon to the colliers, and readily consented, because he had been desirous of seeing the people of that place for a long time.[1]

The events which followed mark one of the most decisive and significant periods in Cennick's whole spiritual pilgrimage. More than that, the events of June 14, 1739 in the life of Cennick, make it a day meaningful for the people of Kingswood, Bristol, Wiltshire, Wales, Ireland, and for the whole Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. For on that day John Cennick not only preached, but came to recognize God's call to him to be a preacher of the gospel, and was obedient to that call. One of the most convincing, persuasive and persistent messengers of the gospel was thus claimed by God for a people in great need. Here was a chanel through which God's grace and power had free access to men.

D. Kingswood, 1739-40.

The story of John Cennick's call to preach, which began with the occasion at Kingswood, deserves to be read in his own record of it.

> "When we were come to the place (which was under a sycamore tree near the intended school) we waited some time among the colliers, who were seriously attending round the tree in number about four, or five hundred, till the young man should come. But while he delayed beyond the appointed time, a gentlewoman of St. Philips-plain, and a young man who came with us, desired me either to read a sermon or expound a chapter. I had no power to refuse, or gainsay, and tho' I was naturally fearful of speaking before company, having never done such a thing as this; yet so much was I pressed in spirit to testify the salvation of Jesus to the people, that I fell on my knees, and besought the Lord to be with me in the work, and prevent me if His majesty was offended.

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1. Autobiography, p. xiv; Cf., *Sacred Hymns for the Children of God*, The Preface, p. xxx.

"Scarce had we ended prayer when the young man came who was to read; and tho' he was urg'd to begin by many friends, yet he would not consent, but entreated me (if I was inclined) to expound. Yet after all this I was afraid lest the Lord should not teach me what to say. Again I pray'd, and finding great freedom I then tarried no longer, but rose up, and went to the congregation, the Lord bearing witness with my word, insomuch that many believed in that hour.

"On Friday I again expounded a part of St. James' Epistle at White Hall, about a mile distant from the school, where many believed in the most devout way I ever had seen. Tears fell from my eyes. And when we had join'd in singing an hymn we parted; and were brought on our way home by several of the colliers.

"On Sunday, June 17, I expounded again under the Sycamore tree the first chapter of St. John's Gospel; and in the afternoon I discoursed to about four thousand on the day of judgment from the 13th of St. Mark: here also the power of God was present, and his Word did not fall to the ground.

"On the 14th day of June 1739, the burden of the Lord came upon me, and unto this day the Lord, according to his Word, hath been a mouth to me; and thro' his abundant love, hath kept me from all doubts and murmurings, in a settled peace passing all understanding; in which I know wait till my dear Lord shall call me from his vineyard to sit down in his everlasting Sabbath; and of this I am well persuaded, that when I have done the work for which I am sent, I shall no more be a stranger upon the earth; but shall ascend to dwell in my Saviour's bosom, and in the Kingdom of my Father for ever and ever! Amen."[1]

Cennick continued to preach to the colliers and their children, and sometimes to the societies in Bristol, until Mr. Wesley returned from London. Then, although many had desired that Mr. Wesley forbid Cennick to preach, he rather encouraged him,

1. Ibid., pp. xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii.

and often counselled with him as friend.[2] For eighteen months Cennick now acted as Wesley's lay-assistant. After a time, when Charles Wesley came into Bristol, Cennick lived altogether at Kingswood among the colliers. He then seldom went to Bristol, unless to supply Mr. Wesley's place there while the latter went to London or to some other town to preach. Cennick was welcomed not only in Kingswood and Bristol, but also in the surrounding villages. He was, to all intents and purposes, a Wesleyan Methodist himself. He preached with the zeal and fire and sensational manner of the Methodists of that day.

One of the published sermons that was preached in 1739 at Kingswood is titled "The Cries of the Son of God."[1] In it Cennick depicts the awful sufferings of Christ upon the cross, and as he did so the hardened sinners of Kingswood shed tears of pentience and of joy. In this period Cennick was often blessed with the conscious presence of God through the Holy Spirit, and awakened souls calling upon God for redemption were frequently present in his congregations. He preached to thousands.

It was at this time that fits, agitation and foaming at the mouth began to accompany the discourses of Wesley. Some

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1. Cf., Autobiography, p. xv; Note also Cadman, S. Parkes: *The Three Religious Leaders of Oxford and Their Movements*: "On occasions when no such clergyman was present to address the congregations, lay helpers had ventured to do so. Of these were Joseph Humphreys, John Cennick, and Thomas Maxfield. As early as 1738, Humphreys had assisted Wesley at Fetter Lane, and after 1740 the other two were identified with the more distinct Methodism at the Foundery. By the end of that year the Wesleys were isolated: Whitefield was in America; Gambold and Brigham had joined the Moravians; the Anglicans generally had washed their hands of the enterprise. Under these circumstances the forerunners of the itinerant preachers appeared. Cennick was a man of some culture, the Master of Kingswood School, who celebrated his conversion in several well-known hymns, among which are those beginning, "Children of the Heavenly King" and "Thou dear Redeemer, dying Lamb." Requested to reprove him for expounding the Scriptures to a congregation disappointed of its minister, on the contrary Wesley so encouraged him that he gave his spare time to preaching and exposition in the neighborhood of Bristol. Yet when Wesley received word there that Thomas Maxfield had also 'turned preacher', and in the London Society at that, he was greatly disquieted. One surmises that his dismay was due to the relative importance of the Foundery and to the difference between Cennick and Maxfield, rather than to Maxfield's presumption.

2. Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses of Salvation by Jesus and of Sincere Christianity.* Discourse #1. Each discourse has pages numbered separately, so page numbers have significance only within each discourse.

would sweat greatly and their necks and tongues swell and twist all out of shape. Cennick writes that it was "especially as Mr. Wesley began to preach perfection, and to speak terribly out of the Law."[1] However, Tyerman tells us similar scenes occurred or similar effects sometimes followed the preaching of Cennick, during Wesley's absence in London. These always occurred either at Kingswood or in Bristol.[2] At the first no one knew how to explain the phenomenon, but soon it was called the pangs of the new birth, the work of the Holy Ghost, the bruising of the serpent's head. Cennick tells us: "some were offended and entirely left the Societies when they saw Mr. Wesley encourage it."[3] Concerning Cennick's own reaction to it the following is revealing:

> "I often doubted if it was not of the enemy when I saw it, and disputed with Mr. Wesley for calling it the work of God; but he was strengthened in his opinion after he had wrote about it to Mr. Erskine in Scotland (who at that time had made a great stir among the religious Scots) and had received a favourable answer. And frequently, when none were agitated in the meetings, he prayed, Lord, where are Thy tokens and signs, etc., and I don't remember ever to have seen it otherwise than that on his so praying several men were seized and screamed out. I can't be persuaded but that, though there might be some who affected this, there was somewhat supernatural."[4]

But that Cennick din't think that the supernatural powers were benign is evident from what he wrote to John Wesley under date of September 12, 1739:

> "On Monday night I was preaching at the school on the forgiveness of sins when numbers cried out with a loud and bitter cry. Indeed, it seemed that the devil and the powers of darkness were come among us."[1]

John Cennick, as he laboured with Wesley for the redemption

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1. *The Moravian Messenger*, Volume XVI, p. 80.
2. *The Life and Times of John Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 263.
3. *The Moravian Messenger*, Volume XVI, p. 80.
4. Ibid., p. 80.
5. Tyerman, L.: *The Life and Times of John Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 263.

of the Kingswood colliers, not only did not see eye to eye with Wesley about the strange scenes that sometimes accompanied the preaching, as we have seen, but also discovered that he could not agree with Wesley on certain points of doctrine. He leaves this record of their differences:

> "In all this time Mr. Wesley and I disputed often and chiefly it was because they said if we have no other righteousness than the righteousness of Christ imputed to us we can't be saved. Also that a soul justified by the blood of Jesus Christ, and having the assurance of forgiveness and the witness of God's Spirit bearing witness with His Spirit that he is a child of God, can finally and eternally perish. Also that a man can become so perfect in this world that he shall not only not commit sin but he shall be without sin and be inherently holy as God. All these I withstood, and at first we reasoned out of the Scriptures mildly for some months, but the number of perfectionists increasing, and Mr. Wesley declaring and maintaining such sad things in their vindication, we argued hotly, and sometimes were both to blame."[2]

These disagreements and quarrels over doctrine began to cause divisions in the Societies, especially in Kingswood and Bristol. The more Calvinistically inclined sided with Cennick, while the others upheld Wesley's Arminianism.

Mr. John Wesley, together with his brother Charles and others, came to Kingswood to try to overcome the difficulties. Cennick wrote that they tried to persuade him to renounce his principles, which they contended were the very opinions of the Still Brethren.[1] The method used was to preach sermons attempting to prove the tenets of the Still Brethren were erroneous, and hindered people from working out their salvation, under a pretence that Christ had done all for them. The effect of the fre-

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1. *The Moravian Messenger*, Vol. XVI, p. 93.
2. The Still Brethren were those influenced by Quietism, such as Philip Molthar, who had served the Fetter Lane Society and had forbidden John Wesley's preaching there. They insisted all one could do was to wait quietly upon God for redemption. This was a temporary influence among the Brethren.

quent disputes and conferences was to clarify Cennick's own views and to lead him to see what he believed was the false foundations of the Wesleys' view. But he had no desire to separate from them and assured them he knew no Calvinist in the world, nor did he believe in reprobation, or in the least doubt universal redemption; only he should be glad to find a doctrine whereby election and universal redemption could be made to agree. The Perfectionists, continued to strive daily with Mr. Wesley against Cennick, and at last before Christmas, 1740, prevailed. Wesley forbade Cennick to preach in the Kingswood School any more, to which Cennick yielded.[2]

E. Separation from the Wesleys.

It was agreed: that the band that had been meeting separately with Cennick should continue to do so; that those of Wesley's persuasion should also meet separately; that neither side should dispute with each other and that the first to do so should be excluded from the Kingswood Society. More than that, a day was fixed when Mr. Wesley should come to Kingswood and the matter would be settled.

Here it seems appropriate to look at John Wesley's own *Journal* concerning the events of the separation. The separation was so determinative for Cennick's life and thought that as nearly a complete picture of the events as possible should be reviewed. Hence, the justification for the numerous longer quotations which follow in these pages. For Sunday, December 14, 1740 Wesley enters in his *Journal:*

> "I went to Kingswood, intending, if it should please God, to spend some time there, if haply I might be an instrument in his hands of repairing the breaches which had been made; that we might again, with one heart and one mouth glorify the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."[1]

Four other entries in the month of December, 1740 are of interest in this connection:

"Tuesday, Dec. 16. In the afternoon I preached on, 'Let

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1. Cf., *The Moravian Messenger*, Vol. XVI, p. 93; *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 166.
2. *The Journal of John Wesley*. 4 Volumes, Vol. I, p. 293.

patience have her perfect work.' The next evening Mr. Cennick came back from a little journey into Wiltshire. I was greatly surprised, when I went to receive him, as usual, with open arms to observe him quite cold, so that a stranger would have judged he had scarce ever seen me before. However, for the present I said nothing, but did him honour before the people.

"Friday, Dec. 19. I pressed him to explain his behaviour. He told me many stories which he had heard of me; yet it seemed to me something was still behind: so I desired we might meet again in the morning.

"Saturday, Dec. 20. A few of us had a long conference together. Mr. C—— now told me plainly, 'He could not agree with me, because I did not preach the truth, in particular, with regard to election.' We then entered a little into the controversy, but without effect.

"Friday, Dec. 26. I returned early in the morning to Kingswood, in order to preach at the usual hour; but my congregation had gone to hear Mr. C——; so that (except a few from Bristol) I had not above two or three men, and as many women, the same number I had had once or twice before."[1]

It is well to bear in mind that Wesley had forbidden Cennick to expound at the school in Kingswood. In this connection the following letter to Mr. Howell Harris is interesting:

To Mr. Howel Harris Bristol, Dec. 21, 1740
At Trevecca, near the Hay.

Mr. Harris:

By the desire of Mr. Cennick I now write to acquaint you that he is to expound no more in either of the rooms and that Mr. Wesley has taken possession of that at Kingswood things seem here in great confusion for which reason Mr. Cennick desires you will come here as soon as possible. I conclude

Your friend and servant,
James Smith

1. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 293, 294.

P.S. Should be glad of your answer by first to know if we may expect you direct for me at Mr. Grevile's in Wine Street.[2]

Not long after this Cennick himself wrote to George Whitefield on the same matter, which letter John Wesley somehow gained possession of as will be seen later.

The problem continued unsettled until late in February. Then we have Mr. Wesley's record of what happened in the following diary or journal records:

"Feb. 18, Wed., 1741. I walked on to Burford, on Thursday to Malmsbury, and the next day to Bristol. Saturday, 21st, I inquired as fully as I could concerning the divisions and offences which, notwithstanding the earnest cautions I had given, began afresh to break out in Kingswood. In the afternoon I met a few of the bands there: but it was a cold, uncomfortable meeting. Sunday, 22d, I endeavoured to show them the ground of many of their mistakes, from these words, 'Ye need not that any man teach you, but as that same anointing teacheth you'; a text which had been frequently brought in support of the rankest enthusiasm. Mr. Cennick, and fifteen or twenty others, came up to me after sermon. I told them, 'They had not done right, in speaking against me behind my back. Mr. C——, Ann A——, and Thomas Eissicks, as the mouth of the rest, replied, 'They had said no more of me behind my back than they would say to my face; which was, that I did preach up man's faithfulness, and not the faithfulness of God.

"In the evening was our Love-feast in Bristol; in the conclusion of which, there being mention made that many of our brethren at Kingswood had formed themselves into a separate Society, I related to them at large the effects of the separations which had been made from time to time in London; and likewise the occasion of this, viz., Mr. C..'s preaching other doctrine than that they had before received. The natural consequence was, that when my brother and I

1. *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. VI, p. 111.

preached the same which we had done from the beginning, many censured and spoke against us both; whence arose endless strife and confusion. T.. B.. replied, 'Why, we preached false doctrine; we preached, that there is righteousness in man.' I said, 'So there is, after the righteousness of Christ is imputed to him through faith. But who told you, that what we preached was false doctrine? Whom would you have believed this from but Mr. C..?' Mr. C.. answered, 'You do preach righteousness in man: I did say this; and I say it still; however, we are willing to join with you. But we will also meet apart from you: for we meet to confirm one another in those truths which you speak against.'

"I replied, 'You should have told me this before, and not have supplanted me in my own house, stealing the hearts of the people, and, by private accusations, separating very friends.' He said, 'I have never privately accused you.' I said, 'My brethren judge: and read as follows:-

'To the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield,

Jan. 17, 1741.

My dear Brother;

That you might come quickly, I have written a second time.

I sit solitary, like Eli waiting what will become of the ark. And while I wait and fear the carrying of it away from among my people, my trouble increases daily. How glorious did the Gospel seem once to flourish in Kingswood! I spake of the everlasting love of Christ with sweet power.—But now brother Charles is suffered to open his mouth against this truth, while the frightened sheep gaze and fly, as if no shepherd was among them. It is just as though Satan was now making war with the saints, in a more than common way. O pray for the distressed lambs, yet left in this place, that they faint not. Surely they would, if preaching would do it; for they have nothing whereon to rest who now attend on the sermons) but their own faithfulness.—

With universal redemption, brother Charles pleases the world—brother John follows him in everything. I believe no Atheist can more preach against predestination than they. And all who believe election are counted enemies to God, and called so.

Fly, dear brother. I am as alone: I am in the midst of the plague. If God give thee leave, make haste'.

Mr. C.. stood up and said, 'That letter is mine; I sent it to Mr. Whitefield; and I do not retract any thing in it, nor blame myself for sending it.' "[1]

The scene was dramatic and thrilling! Feelings were at tension. Apparently Wesley had come to Kingswood with the purpose in mind of staging this scene. Bear in mind that John Cennick was a young man of just twenty-one, with limited formal schooling, and there was pitted against him a man of maturity, now almost thirty-nine years of age, graduate of Oxford University, holding a graduate degree, and formerly an instructor there. More than that he had been to America for a term as a missionary, was an ordained minister of the church and the child of a recotry. He had come to stamp out the poison of Calvinistic doctrine from the Society, and rescue his people from the devourer, in the person of John Cennick. But noting the highly inflammatory possibilities in the situation, Wesley postponed his final action.

"Perceiving some of our brethren began to speak with warmth, I desired he would meet me at Kingswood on Saturday, where each of us could speak more freely, and that all things might sleep till then."[1]

On Saturday he delivered his final stroke. He had come, apparently, to stamp out the divisions by expelling him that he counted the disturber of the peace. He had come to assert his own authority in the Society which he had established. There is another dramatic scene:

"Saturday, February 28, 1741. I met the Kingswood bands again and heard all who desired it at large; after which I read the following paper:-

1. *The Journal of John Wesley*, Vol. I, pp. 299-301.
1. Ibid., p. 301.

'By many witnesses it appears, that several members of the Band Society in Kingswood have made it their common practice to scoff at the preaching of Mr. John and Charles Wesley; that they have censured and spoken evil of them behind their backs, at the very time they professed love and esteem to their faces; that they have studiously endeavoured to prejudice other members of that Society against them; and, in order thereto, have belied and slandered them in divers instances.

'Therefore, not for their opinions, nor for any of them, (whether they be right or wrong,) but for the causes abovementioned, viz.: For their scoffing at the word and ministers of God; for their tale-bearing, back biting, and evil-speaking; for their dissembling, lying, and slandering.

'I, John Wesley, by the consent and approbation of the Society in Kingswood, do declare the persons above mentioned to be no longer members thereof. Neither will they be so accounted until they shall openly confess their fault, and thereby do what in them lies to remove the scandal they have given.' "[1]

The charge had been written, apparently, before the last of the witnesses had been heard. It was delivered and also the verdict! The judgment of guilty had been given and now a confession of guilt was demanded. Notice the effect:

"At this they seemed a little shocked at first; but Mr. C.., T.. B.., and A.. A.. soon recovered, and said, 'They had heard both my brother and me many times preach Popery.[2] However, they would join with us if we would; but that they would not own they had done any thing amiss.'

"I desired them to consider of it yet again, and give us their answer the next evening.

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1. Ibid., pp. 301, 302.
2. From a letter of John Wesley to Dr. Livington, Bishop of Exeter, dated: London, December, 1751, answering his comparison of the Papists and Methodists, we learn what Wesley believed was meant by the charge of 'popery': "When Mr. Cennick and two other Predestinarians (these were the persons) affirmed they had heard both my brother and me preach Popery, they meant neither more nor less thereby than the doctrine of Universal Redemption, "*The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley*, A.N. Vol. IV, p. 328.

"The next evening, March 1, they gave the same answer as before. However, I could not tell how to part; but exhorted them to wait yet a little longer, and wrestle with God, that they might know his will concerning them.

"Friday, 6, (March 6, 1741) Being still fearful of doing anything rashly, or contrary to the great law of love, I consulted again with many of our brethren concerning the further steps I should take. In consequence of which, on Sat. 7, all who could of the Society being met together, I told them, 'Open dealing was best; and I would therefore tell them plainly what I thought (setting all opinion aside) had been wrong in many of them: viz.

1. Their despising the Ministers of God, and slighting his ordinances; 2. Their not speaking or praying when met together till they were sensibly moved thereto: and, 3. Their dividing themselves from their brethren, and forming a separate Society:

'That we could not approve of delaying this matter, because the confusion that was already increased daily:

'That, upon the whole, we believed the only way to put a stop to these growing evils was, for every one now to take his choice, and quit one Society or the other.'

"T.. B.. replied, 'It is our holding election is the true cause of your separating from us.' I answered, 'You know in your own conscience it is not. There are several predestinarians in our Societies, both at London and Bristol; nor did I ever yet put any one out of either because he held that opinion.'

"He said, 'Well, we will break up our Society, on condition you will receive and employ Mr. C.... as you did before.'

"I replied, 'My brother has wronged me much; but he doth not say, 'I repent'.

"Mr. C.... said, 'Unless in not speaking in your defense, I do not know that I have wronged you at all.'

"I rejoined 'It seems, then, nothing remains but for each to choose which Society he pleases.'

"Then, after a short time spent in prayer, Mr. C.... went out, and about half of those who were present with him.

"Sun. 8 (March 8, 1741) After preaching at Bristol, on the abuses and the right use of the Lord's Supper, I earnestly besought them at Kingswood to beward of 'offending in tongue', either against justice, mercy, or truth. After sermon, the remains of our Society met, and found we had great reason to bless God for that, after fifty-two were withdrawn, we had still upwards of ninety left. O may these, at least, hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace!"[1]

John Wesley's temper and action in this seem to be unusually severe, even as Cennick seems to be somewhat bewildered. Was it Wesley's pride, injured by the growing popularity of his young assistant? Or possibly by what seemed to him a challenge to his leadership in the Society? Why did he urge the confession of guilt from Cennick and insist that he had been wronged? Why did Cennick seem so confused and incapable of understanding Wesley's severity in dealing with him. Cennick's sense of innocence of back-biting, evil-speaking, dissembling, lying and slandering, brought the grief of being misunderstood and maligned in the house of his brethren, but this was not a sufficient explanation of his conduct.

The real explanation of both Cennick's bewilderment and John Wesley's severity is to be found, it seems to me, in the bitter accusations brought against Cennick, of which he was not aware, but of which John Wesley had been apprised in a letter from his brother Charles and which he believed apparently. At a point in the controversy Charles Wesley had written a letter to Cennick, full of accusations against him, but had never sent it to Cennick. Rather he gave it to his brother, John, who failed to show it to Cennick and then published it in his *Journal* when the controversy was over. Following is the letter with John's comment as it appears in his *Journal:*

"I will shut up this melancholy subject with part of a letter wrote by my brother about this time.

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1. *The Journal of John Wesley*, Vol. I, pp. 302, 303.

'If you think proper, you may show Brother C.... what follows.' (N.B. I did not think it proper then).

'My dearest brother John C...., in much love and tenderness I speak. You came to Kingswood upon my brother sending for you. You served under him in the Gospel as a son. I need not say how well he loved you. You used the authority he gave you to overthrow his doctrine: you every where contradicted it: (whether true or false is not the question): but you ought first to have fairly told him, 'I preach contrary to you. Are you willing, notwithstanding, that I should continue in your house gainsaying you? If you are not, I have no place in these regions. You have a right to this open dealing. I now give you fair warning: Shall I stay here opposing you, or shall I depart?'

'My brother, have you dealt thus honestly and openly with him? No; but you have stolen away the people's heart from him, and when some of them basely treated their best friend, God only excepted, how patiently did you take it? When did you ever vindicate us as we have you? Why did you not plainly tell them 'You are eternally indebted to these men. Think not that I will stay among you, to head a party against my dearest friend—my brother, as he suffers me to call him, having humbled himself for my sake, and given me (no bishop, priest, or deacon) the right hand of fellowship. If I hear that one word more is spoken against him, I will leave you that moment, and never see your face more.'

'This had been just and honest, and not more than we have deserved at your hands. I say we; for God is my witness, how condescendingly loving I have been toward you: yet you did so forget yourself as both openly and privately to contradict my doctrine, while, in the mean time, I was as a deaf man, that heard not, neither answered a word either in private or public.

'Ah, my brother! I am distressed for you; I would—but you will not receive my saying; therefore I can only commit you to Him who hath commanded us to forgive one

another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven us."[1]

A writer in the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* quotes, with apparent approval, the words of the Rev. J. E. Hutton, M.A., of Heckmondwike, whom he cites as "author of an admirable Short History of the Moravian Church":

> "It is clear now how the great game had been played. It is clear that the accusation against Cennick had been couched in the form of a private letter addressed to himself (i.e., C.W.'s letter to C., printed in J.W.'s Journal). It is clear that the verdict had been given against him before the trial came on. For such skillful opponents Cennick was no match. Years later, when his body lay mouldering in the grave, his fancied crime was still brought up against him. 'I visited the classes at Kingswood', wrote John Wesley in his Journal. 'Here only is there no increase, and yet when was there such a prospect till that weak man John Cennick, confounded the people with strange doctrine? O, what mischief may be done by one who means well. We see no end of it to this day.' "[1]

Archibald W. Harrison writes concerning this statement of Wesley, calling Cennick a weak man, "probably Wesley felt this defection of Cennick the more because it marked the beginning of divisions in the ranks of the Revival. A changeable man Cennick may have been, but his sacrificial labours for the remainder of his short life reveal few signs of weakness."[2] Even Tyerman, Wesley's most authentic biographer, and usually an admirer of his subject writes after pointing out this schism in Methodism,

> "Such was the first schism in Methodist history—John Cennick the leader,—fifty of the Kingswood members its abettors,—and John Wesley and a majority of the Kingswood society, the court enacting their expulsion."

Then come these words of estimate: "The writer's chief object

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1. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 303, 304.
2. Quoted in *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 136, 137; it is from *John Cennick, A Sketch*, by J. E. Hutton, pp. 21, 22.
3. Op. cit., p. 106.

is to furnish facts, and therefore he refrains from comment on these transactions. No doubt Cennick was sincere. After the risks he ran in preaching Christ no one can doubt his Christian earnestness."[1]

Meanwhile George Whitefield, still in America, had read Wesley's sermon on Free Grace, and in December, 1740, before he sailed for England wrote a reply to it. He wrote to the Wesleys on February 1, 1741:

> "Why did you print that sermon against predestination? Why did you in particular, my dear brother Charles, affix your hymn and join in putting out your late hymn-book? How can you say, you will not dispute with me about election, and yet print such hymns, and your brother send his sermon against election, to Mr. Garden and others in America?"[2]

Whitefield returned again to England in the Spring, when the Kingswood controversy was at its height, and immediately invited Cennick to meet him in London. He there labored with Whitefield, but did not stay long in London returning soon to Kingswood. The Tabernacle was opened in London in June, 1741, for Whitefield's services, in the same area of the city as Wesley's Foundery. In the same month he began to collect money for a rival meeting-house at Kingswood, and wished John Cennick to lay the foundation immediately. Cennick records under June 18th of that year:

> "I laid the corner-stone of the school in Kingswood in a piece of land which I had bought of a collier for that purpose. I kneeled down and prayed on it, and sang some verses with a pretty large company who stood all around."[3]

Both places thus had rival conventicles soon, that of Whitefield, Cennick and their companions established on Calvinistic principles.

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1. *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 345. It is interesting to note that Archibald W. Harrison calls this the second division, counting Wesley's withdrawal from the Fetter Lane Society the first, op. cit., p. 71.
2. Harrison, Archibald W., op. cit., p. 72.
3. *The Moravian Messenger*, Vol. XVI, p. 130; Cf., Harrison, Archibald W., op. cit., p. 72; *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon.* By a member of the Houses of Shirley and Hastings, Vol. I, p. 198.

Already in October, 1740 Mr. Howell Harris had written against Mr. Wesley's doctrines in a letter, and desired Cennick to oppose Wesley by declaring the truth.[1] So he now joined with Whitefield, Joseph Humphries and Cennick in their evangelizing efforts. They also established "The Weekly History," the first issue being that of April 11, 1741. Its sub-title was "An Account of the most remarkable particulars relating to the present progress of the Gospel." It was started by J. Lewis, Whitefield promising to supply him with fresh matter every week. This was really the first Methodist newspaper ever published. Of course Calvinism was its inspiring genius. The principal contributors were Whitefield, Cennick, Howell Harris and Joseph Humphries.[2] It advocated the Calvinistic doctrines of God's Sovereignty, Election and Perseverance.[3] As Wesley put it, there were now two kinds of Methodists.

It is not within the purpose of this work to detail the controversy between Whitefield and the Wesleys except as it directly affected Cennick. We have already referred to Whitefield's reply to Wesley's sermon on "Free Grace."[4] Whitefield is said to have told Wesley "You and I preach a different Gospel."[5] Mr. Whitefield was only once allowed to preach in the Foundery and at Bristol he was forbidden to preach in the house which he had really founded. Yet Wesley refers in his *Journal* to Whitefield's unkind behaviour since his return from Georgia. The breach was apparently complete, although there was a measure of respect and personal friendship and correspondence throughout the remainder of Whitefield's life. Whitefield wrote and preached against what he counted Wesley's false Gospel. He organized Societies that opposed those of Wesley. In April, 1743 Howell Harris in Haverfordwest wrote to John Cennick: "Last Saturday Bro. Whitefield preached at the Town Hall of Cardiff, where many that opposed Bro. Wesley heard very

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1. *The Moravian Messenger*, Vol. XVI, p. 130.
2. Tyerman, L.: *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 346; Cf., *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. XII, p. 160.
3. Ibid., p. 158.
4. Ante, p. 76.
5. *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon* etc., Vol. I, p. 198; Cf., *The Journal of John Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 305.

attentively and were affected."[1]

These leaders of the more Calvinistic wing of the Methodist movement soon organized into a separate movement.[2] Here is Tyerman's account of it:

> "One of the first events in this memorable year (1743) was the organization of the Calvinistic-Methodists in Wales. At a meeting held at Watford (near Cardiff) on January 5 and 6, and at which there were present four clergymen—Whitefield, Rowlands, Powell, and Williams, and three laymen—Howel Harris, Joseph Humphreys, and John Cennick, it was agreed that 'public exhorters' should be employed, and that each 'public exhorter', with the assistance of 'private exhorters' should take oversight of twelve or fourteen societies. Each 'private exhorter' was to inspect only one or two societies, and was to follow his ordinary calling. Howel Harris was to be a general travelling superintendent; and the clergymen were to itinerate as much as they were able. Each society was to have a box, under the care of stewards, to receive weekly contributions towards the support of the general work; and the clergymen and exhorters were to meet in conference once, or oftener, every year. Thus Whitefield, Harris, Humphreys, and Cennick began to organize their societies before the Wesleys did."[3]

F. The Great Awakening in Wiltshire.

As early as 1740 John Cennick had visited villages in Wiltshire. There is extant one of his sermons that was preached at Little Sommerford in Wiltshire in that year.[4] After his separa-

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1. Ibid., p. 158.
2. The statement "more Calvinistic" is made because there is plenty of evidence that Cennick was not an extreme Calvinist. Note the following instance: "In October 1740, Mr. Wm. Seward came through Bristol, and openly declared against Mr. Wesley's doctrines, at the same time speaking much in favour of Reprobation and all the rigid doctrines of the Calvinists. He preached several times in England, but was nowhere received, unless by a very few in Bristol, etc." (*Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. VI, p. 137).
3. *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. I, pp. 402, 403; Cf., *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. V, p. 77b, Article on "Calvinistic Methodists". It concludes: "This is known as the first Methodist Association —held eighteen months before John Wesley's first conference. (June 25, 1744).
4. Cennick, John: *Forty Discourses on Important Subjects*, Vol. I, Discourse 2.

tion from the Wesleys, Cennick began to itinerate in Wiltshire and other places as an evangelist. When he went on these visits the Society in Kingswood met without him and each spoke as he pleased at the meetings. From 1740 to 1747, with intervals of absence, he was to be seen going about different parts of North Wiltshire, delivering his message to hundreds and thousands. In his diary there is this entry:

> "I was about a year in Wiltshire, and had no help from any person; and often I stayed only a few days, and at other times two or three weeks in the country, and then returned to Kingswood, to take care of a little society there."[1]

The awakening in Wiltshire began in Castle Combe, a town about four miles from Marshfield, and about eight from Tytherton. One William Orchard, a tailor of Castle Combe, who had heard Cennick preach at the Cross in Sudbury, in Gloucestershire, passing through Kingswood to Bristol Fair, in January 1740, saw Cennick and earnestly desired him to go to his town and preach. Cennick promised to do it, and accordingly preached first in the street before his house to many thousands of people, on July sixteenth, 1740. Several from Lyneham, and particularly Br. John Bryant, several also from Chippenham, Avon, and other places invited him to preach in their towns and villages father into the country, till by degrees, he preached in most of the places of the area. Towns reached included Langley, Hullavington, Malmesbury, West Kingston, Littleton Drew, Foxham, Lyneham, Brinkworth, and Somerfeld.[2]

On July 28th, 1740, at the invitation of some persons from Chippenham, Cennick preached to a multitude on Langley Common and returned the same afternoon to Kingswood, which continued at this time to be the headquarters for his itineracy. In late December he had this schedule and these significant results: December 28th, the Sunday after Christmas, he preached at Lyneham in the morning and in the afternoon in Foxham to some thousands. On Monday the 29th, he preached at Little Somerford and then he reports: "from this (I) had open door

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1. *The Moravian Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 372.
2. Cf., Tyerman, L.: *Life of George Whitefield*, Vol. II, p. 40; *The Messenger*, Vol. XI, pp. 10, 11.

everywhere".[1]

The year that followed was the notable year in the Wiltshire campaign. Cennick received some help from some of Whitefield's preachers, now that he had associated himself somewhat with Whitefield. However, Cennick remarks that it was observed from the beginning

> "that the Methodists did not much care for the Wiltshire brethren, because they behaved and spoke more evangelically than the other awakened souls, and were therefore esteemed as tinctured with Antinomianism, and only a few of the Methodist preachers could be contented to stay long in Wilts."[2]

However the Gospel-seed was springing up of its own accord, and the work advancing even before outside assistance arrived. For after public preaching had spread the Word far and near through village and town, the people of their own volition met in little groups to sing two single hymns, which Cennick had published some time before at Bristol. Then, one of the men, Br. Richard Gotley of Avon, went frequently to these meetings in Foxham with the intent of helping the people sing. Before long he was going further, and sometimes read sermons of Whitefield's or Wesley's, read letters which Cennick sent him, led in prayer and eventually preached. Thus local helpers were being trained. It was well for the work, too, since during 1740 Cennick had to be in London at the Tabernacle a good deal, and in other places, and consequently couldn't be in Wilts as often as might have been best. Yet he was able to record: "Through the diligence of Br. Gotley, Br. Bryant, and my sister Anna Cennick, the work of our Saviour Christ was really carried on."[3]

In January of 1741 Cennick preached first at Brinkworth, and dates the beginning of the awakening on that side of the country from that event. Later in the same year Howell Harris, the Welsh evangelist joined him in a great campaign of far-reaching effects. The awakening began in Gloucestershire, where Cen-

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1. Ibid., p. 11.
2. Ibid., p. 11.
3. *The Messenger*, Vol. XI, p. 12.

nick and Harris first joined, and then proceeded into Wiltshire where it had its greatest influence.[1] The people of the county were in a deplorable spiritual condition, greatly in need of the gospel, as will be evidenced, among other things, by their treatment of the evangelists.[2]

It was during his preaching tour with Howell Harris that Cennick first became acquainted with mob violence in opposition to their preaching. He was to experience this much more largely in most of his subsequent ministry. It was not only an evidence of the character of the times[3] but also a commentary on the earnestness and passion of the preaching of Harris and Cennick, as well as the other preachers prominent in the Evangelical Revival. Tyerman comments: "The two Wesleys and Whitefield were often roughly treated; and so also was John Cennick, the Methodist Moravian."[4] In another place he refers to the persecutions of Charles Wesley and writes: "This was bad enough, but the treatment of John Cennick and his friends was even worse."[5] At Upton, in Gloucestershire, there was a mob assembled, with a horn, a drum and a number of brass pans, which made a most horrid hubbub, the brass pans being also used to beat the people's heads. Among the crowd was an inventive rogue who put a cat into a cage, and brought a pack of hounds to make them bark at it. Another man and his wife, who kept an alehouse at Hannam, rode through the congregation, thrashing the people with their whips, and trampling them beneath their horses' hoofs. Little children collected dust, which their grown-up patrons threw upon Cennick, who was also struck violently on the nose, and became a target at which they hurled stones and dead dogs.[6] Reference has previously been made to a horrible riot at Exeter, of which Cennick himself left an account.[7]

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1. Cf., *The Messenger*, Vol. XI, p. 12; Hutton, J. E., *John Cennick, A Sketch*, p. 23.
2. Cf., *The Moravian Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 372.
3. Ante, p. 23.
4. *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 360.
5. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 331.
6. Cf., Tyerman: *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. I, pp. 331, 332; Hutton, J. E.: *John Cennick, A Sketch*, pp. 23, 24.
7. Ante, p. 23; Cf., post, p. 127.

One of the most famous experiences of the opposition of the mob occurred on June twenty-third, 1741, in Wiltshire. With about twenty-four on horses, Howell Harris, the Welsh evangelical leader, accompanied Cennick to Swindon, about ten miles from Brinkworth, and not far from the Vale of the White House where Cennick had a preaching appointment. A large company was assembled in the grove, with whom Cennick sang and prayed, but to whom he was hindered from preaching. A great mob made a noise, played in the midst of the people, and then with guns fired over the heads of the preachers, holding the muzzles of their guns so near the preachers' faces that they were both black with the powder. Cennick and Harris showed no fear, but opened their breasts, and told the mob that they were ready to lay down their lives for their doctrine. They said also that the people could, if they chose, level their guns at Cennick's and Harris' hearts. The mob gathered dust from the roads and threw that on them. They brought a fire-engine, filled it with water from the ditches, and played the water upon them; they drenched them with buckets of mud and water. For fully an hour the preachers endured these insults, a spectacle of shame and derision, observed by a certain Mr. Godhard, the author of the mob conspiracy. But the preachers won the victory, for as water was played upon Harris, Cennick preached to the congregation, and when the engine was turned on Cennick, Harris preached. This continued until the engine was spoiled.

Soon after this the preachers went on to Stretton, where additional mob violence had been prepared. As Cennick preached a great deal about the cleansing blood of Christ, the ingenious Mr. Godhard persuaded a local butcher to save a huge quantity of blood, with the intent of pouring it upon the preachers. Mr. Godhard would give Cennick blood enough and to spare. But this time the plot failed completely; not one of the conspirators reached Stretton to carry out the designs. The tragic experiences through which many of the perpetrators of the plan went, were looked upon as terrible judgments. But the enemies were still at work and horrible experiences followed on the road between Swinden and Stretton, and in the latter place only after

Cennick and his friends had succeeded in having a service in a Baptist Chapel there. Cennick's shoulders were black with bruises for three weeks. Similar experiences awaited him at Langley. Persecution was planned at Foxham, at Broadstock and other places.[1] Yet, if those who participated in the opposition thought to turn back Cennick, they were completely self-decieved.

The man who was to be called "The Apostle of Wiltshire"[2] was not dissuaded. The tide eventually turned, and through scores of villages and towns he swept, carrying the message to thousands who gathered in out-of-the way places at his coming. A wonderful revival began, and its divine power was manifested in its attractive influence that led many from gross darkness to the light. "Curiosity gave place to thought; indifference was changed to conviction of sin."[3] The sufferings of the persecutions were not in vain. The multitudes who had lately mobbed Cennick now came to admire him. Religious Societies were established in many places as a result of faithful gospel preaching, and became centers of united edification and spiritual helpfulness.

In addition Cennick saw the need of a center for his itinerant ministry among the multiplying number of Societies, and the need for buildings in which to worship. Already in September, 1742 he tells of seeing a house at Tytherton which he resolved to buy, and on October twenty-fifth he records: "I bought the house and land at Tytherton."[4] On the fourteenth of November he preached for the first time at Tytherton, "after we had taken down several lofts in one end of the house to make room."[5] On the twenty-eighth of the same month he records that there were so many at the preaching at Tytherton that they were

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1. Cf., Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. I, pp. 360, 361; Belder: *George Whitefield—The Awakener*, pp. 141, 142; *The Messenger*, Vol. XI, pp. 10-12; *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 12, 13; Hasse, E. R.: *The Moravians*, pp. 78, 80, 81 & 82.
2. Ibid., p. 79; Cf., *The Moravian Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 376; Addison George: *The Renewed Church of the United Brethren*, p. 142.
3. Hasse, E. R., op. cit., p. 79.
4. *The Messenger*, Vol. XI, pp. 338, 340.
5. Ibid., p. 340.

obliged to meet in the orchard. For three years Cennick made Tytherton his headquarters. There he laid the cornerstone of the new chapel on May twenty-fourth of the following year; there Mr. Whitefield came in October, 1743 to baptize four boys, and to give the sacrament in December, 1743. In 1744 Cennick rebuilt and altered the dwelling-house in Tytherton. And to Tytherton on April third, 1744 came those who, at Cennick's desire, formed the first association of ministers and preachers to be held in Wilts. At this meeting there were present: preachers: Mr. Whitefield, John Cennick, Howell Harris, Joseph Humphries, Thomas Adams; exhorters: William Humphries, Thomas Lewis, Isaac Cottel, Thomas Boswick.[1]

Since this first conference was a further factor in stabilizing the work that had begun, it would be well to notice some of the decisions of this conference. Here are some of the most interesting for our purposes, out of the twenty-siz which Cennick records:

"1. That all the English preachers at the invitation of the Welsh Brethren be present at the association in Wales, the Wednesday after next Midsummer at Trevecca.

2. That Br. Lewes be received as an exhorter.

3. That Br. Cottel be received the same, and employed at the direction of the preachers in Wiltshire.

4. That Br. Godwin, though absent be received as an exhorter. . .

10. That we think ourselves in no ways bound to refrain from going to any place where we believe we are called of the Holy Ghost, notwithstanding Br. Wesley or his brethren have preached there before, and that Br. Whitefield write to Br. John Wesley on this head, and we think it just on their side that they have the same liberty. . .

13. That the general superintendency of all England be given to Br. Whitefield.

14. That the superintendency of all the above named places be laid on Brn. Cennick, Harris, Humphries, Adams, and Jenkins.

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1. Cf., Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 340, 342, 343, 345, 372.

15. That the stewards be in subjection to the Exhorters, and they to the Preachers, and these last to be in subjection to Br. Whitefield."[1]

Even with such plans for the future as those growing out of the meeting of the Association, Cennick was not quite easy in mind. For one thing he believed that there might be some measure of understanding and fellowship among those of the evangelical movement that had now been divided. Tyerman's account of this which is written from the standpoint of Wesley none-the-less indicates Cennick's influence in this effort:

"Charles Wesley was summoned from Cornwall to attend a conference in London, consisting of the leading men of the three communities,—the Arminian Methodists, the Calvinistic Methodists, and the Moravians. The object of the conference was, by mutual explanations and concessions, to cultivate a better understanding with each other; so that the parties might avoid all unnecessary collision, and unite, as far as was practicable, in advancing what they believed to be the work of God. Wesley drew up a statement of the questions at issue between himself and Whitefield, with the concessions he was prepared to make. Mr. Jackson says, the project had its origin with Wesley, and perhaps it had; but, a year before this, John Cennick expressed a wish for the same sort of meeting. In a letter to Whitefield's wife, dated May 6, 1742, he writes: 'I have had it much impressed upon my mind, that it would be right in the sight of God, that all our preachers, all Mr. Wesley's, and all the Moravian brethren should meet together. Who knows but we might unite? Or if not, we might consent in principles as far as we can, and love one another. At least I think all our preachers should meet, as the apostles did, often. I know it would be for good; but I suspend my judgment to the elder brethren."[2]

The conference didn't succeed because Whitefield refused to attend the meeting.[3] At least Cennick had made the effort to silence the voice of dispute.

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1. Ibid., pp. 373, 374.
2. *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. I, pp. 419, 420.
3. Hutton, J. E.: *John Cennick, A Sketch*, p. 32.

At this attempted meeting of the three branches of the Evangelical Movement,—the plan for which was at least partly of Cennick's making,—testified to Cennick's disquietude, it also indicated something of the nature of his uneasiness. He had chafed under the dogmatic Arminianism of John Wesley, in his earlier ministry. As he preached to the Wiltshire peasants he now became discontented with the rigid Calvinism of Whitefield. From time to time he had been attracted to the Moravians. He had met Zinzendorf in 1743[1] and Peter Boehler, Spangenberg and others at different times. He had written to Whitefield on May first, 1742:

> "I love brother Spangenberg dearly, my heart is with his heart in the Lord Jesus. I thank my Saviour I have been the means of removing many strange aspersions and slanders against that people, and ministers in particular."[2]

Disturbed by the doctrine of reprobation as held by Calvinists, Cennick thought of the pure evangelical doctrine of the Moravians, their emphasis on the meritorious death of Jesus and their exaltation of the Lamb of God as the one true Saviour. He was also greatly impressed by the lives of their leaders. The next significant step in Cennick's career is not hard to imagine.

G. Cennick Joins the Moravians.

John Wesley had once complained of being deserted by most of his co-laborers and even accused his brother Charles of being about to join the Moravians. However, according to John Wesley's own *Journal*, it was not only brother Charles that was attracted to the Moravians. For John entered the following in his *Journal:*

> "Monday, April 6, 1741. I had a long conversation with Peter Boehler. I marvel how I refrain from joining these men; I scarce ever see any of them but my heart burns within me; I long to be with them, and yet I am kept from them."[3]

When the Calvinistic Methodists, who owed a great part of

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1. Spangenberg, the Rev. August Gottlieb: *The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf*, p. 320.
2. Quoted by Hutton, J. E.: *John Cennick, A Sketch*, p. 31.
3. Vol. I, p. 306.

their membership to Cennick's work, began to persecute him because he spoke so much of the person of the Saviour, stood aloof from the reprobation doctrine, and fellowshipped with the Moravians, then Cennick joined the Moravians and asked them to care for his Societies, especially those in Wiltshire.

Cennick, together with Howell Harris, had been in charge of Whitefield's Tabernacle, Moorsfield, London in 1745. There Cennick introduced into some of the Societies choirs or classes for singing "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" after the manner of the Moravians. "Indeed," writes Tyerman,[1] "Cennick already was more a Moravian than a Whitefieldiam; and, in December, 1745, openly avowed his predilection." When Harris and Adams opposed his sentiments in the work at the Tabernacle, Cennick made the final move which had been imminent for some time. With his own turning to the Moravians many of Cennick's Societies were also turned to the Moravian Brethren, as those of Ingham had been in the North.[2] Cennick's own record of this change follows:

> "In the month of December I came entirely away from the Methodists, and on the 12th day of the month I came with Br. John West of London to Tytherton before I went to Germany."[3]

Then he proceeds to record how he conveyed this information to his followers in Wiltshire:

> "On Sunday the 15th, we had a conference with the stewards, to whom I told my whole mind, how I had left the Methcdists and was come among the Brethren, and on Wesnesday the 18th they met again, and unanimously signed an invitation to the Brethren to come among them, proposing to give up themselves wholly to their care, giving them authority to alter, change, or do whatever they should see fit among them, and the Societies under their care & c."[4]

Cennick then lists the names of those who signed the invitation, and the list is interesting because it includes Cennick's sister

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1. *Life of George Whitefield*, Vol. II, p. 148.
2. Harrison, Archibald W., op. cit., p. 73.
3. *The Messenger*, Vol. XI, p. 378.
4. Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 378.

Sarah Cennick, and Jane Bryant, who became Cennick's wife He carried this invitation to London and delivered it to the Brethren. Soon thereafter they sent among the Wiltshire Societies the brethren Holland, Horne, Rogers, Okely and others. In 1748 the Society at East Tytherton was established as a regular congregation of the Brethren or Moravians.[1]

The effect of Cennick's departure to the Moravians was troublesome to Whitefield and his colleagues. However, it didn't break their personal friendship and we find correspondence between them for years afterward. On Mr. Whitefield's return from America he found his congregation much scattered. Cennick's secession had been a peril and a disaster. Both people and preachers suffered loss.

In London, while Whitefield preached at St. Bartholomew's Church and helped administer the sacrament to a thousand communicants on one occasion, it is remarked that in other instances his congregations were thin. He found that antinomianism had made sad havoc; but the scattered troops began to unite again. He writes November nineteenth: "Matters were in great confusion by reason of Mr. Cennick's going over to the Moravians"! and again on December twenty-first: "I suppose not less than four hundred, through the practices of the Moravians, have left the Tabernacle. I have also been forsaken in other ways. I have not had above a hundred to hear me, where I had twenty thousand; and hundreds now assemble within a quarter of a mile of me, who never come to see or speak to me; though they must own, at the great day, that I was their spiritual father."[2]

An interesting entry or two in the *Provincial Pilgrim House Diary*[3] throws some light on Cennick's relation with Howell Harris in the separation from the Whitefield group, and also on how a Moravian congregation looked on Cennick's preaching:

1. *The Moravian Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 376.
2. Tyerman: *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. II, pp. 22, 23; Cf., Tyerman: *Life of George Whitefield*, Vol. II, p. 15; *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, Vol. I, pp. 200, 201.
3. Manuscript copy by Miss Klesel. Supplied by Prof. R. T. Jenkins of the University College of North Wales, Author of *The Moravian Brethren in North Wales*. In the latter volume the friendliness of Harris and the Moravians across the years is especially noted. pp. 12, 13, 35.

"December 8, 1745. Cennick has told Howell Harris he is leaving Whitefield . . . He (i.e. Harris) believes Cennick's convictions to be from the Saviour."

And again later in the month:

"December 21, 1745. Cennick preached for the first time in our chapel; very methodistical in his speech and gestures."

At the end of the year 1745 John Cennick visited the Moravians in Germany. He had left his Wiltshire Societies in the care of the Moravians, and Brother Thorne and Cennick's sister Sarah at Kingswood. John Wesley had bade Cennick farewell, as the latter was going to Germany, and wrote in his *Journal:* "He is at length fallen among those who will make him as passive a tool as ever moved upon wire."[1]

He was accompanied by John Paul Weiss. He had heard strange tales of the Moravians, and was now to go and see for himself. He took the route by way of Flushing, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Zeist and Cologne. He met some of the Brethren at Amsterdam and was amazed at their simple, loving and childlike behaviour. He had never seen anything like it in England. Eventually he reached his destination, the old Castle of Marienborn in Wetteravia. Here the Moravians maintained one of the most remarkable religious institutions of the eighteenth century. This was the period of Zinzendorf's banishment from Herrnhut and Saxony. He made his home at the Marienborn Castle.

At Lindheim, close by, the theological college had been established, where students from every university in Germany were being trained for service in the foreign field. Here Cennick studied for some time during his few months of visit there. Here he received a greater degree of systematic training than he had had thus far.[2]

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1. *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. II, p. 54.
2. Cf., Hasse, E. R., op. cit., pp. 86, 87; Hutton, J. E.: *John Cennick, A Sketch*, pp. 36, 37, 40, 41.

At Herrnhaag, only three miles away, the Moravians had built a settlement in less than seven years. Cennick lived among these people, observed their manners and looked over their works. He heard Count Zinzendorf preach and sing. "He had many a pleasant talk in the woods with Peter Boehler, and found his conversation just as helpful as John Wesley had found it eight years before."[1] He became acquainted with famous missionaries of the Moravians such as Leonard Dober, Beck and Soerensen. He saw missionaries start off to their fields and was inspired by the spirit of devotion with which they went forth.

Cennick participated in a wide variety of services at this time, but was most impressed with the cosmopolitan character of the population. Different races of people brought together, hymns sung in a large variety of languages, sermons preached in over ten different languages, portraits of missionaries from many parts of the world, all these features of the settlement at Herrnhaag bewildered Cennick and gave him a feeling of genuine humility. He listened to letters read from all parts of the Moravian mission-field and felt that his own work was of but narrow compass in comparison. Eventually he was accepted into the Moravian Church either in late spring or early summer of 1746.[2]

On his return from his visit to Marienborn and Herrnhaag Cennick attended the Moravian synod at Zeist in Holland, in May 1746. He returned to England from the synod with some of the English Brethren, arriving on Sunday, May twenty-fifth, and reached London early on Monday, May twenty-sizth. The work immediately ahead had been prearranged for Cennick by a series of events.

H. Cennick in Dublin.

John Cennick was the first to introduce the Revival into Ireland, according to E. R. Hasse,[3] and there it struck a gladdening note. He was not only the leader in point of time, but he was

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1. Ibid., pp. 37, 38.
2. Cf., Ibid., pp. 39, 40, 41. Also Hutton: *History of the Moravian Church*, p. 323; Hasse, E. R., op. cit., p. 87; Holmes, John: *History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren*, Vol. I, pp. 328, 329.
3. Op. cit., pp. 88, 89.

also one of the most successful of all the Evangelists who visited that island.

His fame as a preacher had reached Dublin before he himself went there. In August, 1744, two young men, Antisel Taylor and John Hynd, came to London from Dublin. In London they were persuaded, by one of their countrywomen, Mrs. Lineham, to visit the Tabernacle and hear Mr. Cennick preach. Impressed by the preaching they attened regularly and became quite well acquainted with Cennick. Taylor wrote frequently to his relations and friends in Dublin, who were Baptists, both of the powerful effect and manner of preaching of the Gospel which they heard in London. This stirred up a desire upon the part of the more serious to have Cennick come to Dublin. Certain Dublin citizens visiting London on business heard Cennick preach and confirmed, on their return home, the word that Mr. Taylor had conveyed in his letters. The result was that Mr. Taylor received many letters urging him to press Cennick to visit Dublin and preach there.

In the summer of 1745 Cennick consented to their request with this proviso, that if they would return to their friends in Dublin and relate to them what they had seen and felt of the power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in their own hearts, and then find people in earnest to hear him, and these in turn would join in the invitation, he would go.[1] Cennick confesses in his account that he entertained strong prejudice against the Irish nation and people and it was only Taylor's frequent solicitation that had led him to yield.

Taylor returned to Dublin in August and fulfilled the conditions laid down by Cennick, with the results that repeated invitations were sent to Cennick. These invitations were signed by the Baptists, other Dissenters and Churchmen. Cennick answered in such a way that they might excuse him, but the more he did this the more he seemed to stir their desire to see him.

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1. *The Messenger*, Vol. XII, "John Cennick in Dublin. An Account of the most remarkable Passages relating to the Awakening in Dublin and Ireland, from the beginning till the settling of the Congregation." p. 63. This is Cennick's diary of the period, written in first person, and it is followed principally here.

Finally in September 1745, and again in October, he made efforts to go to Dublin, but unfavorable winds and weather prevented his achieving his goal. He was now disappointed, but concluded that either it was not the Saviour's time, or perhaps his contemplated transfer to the Moravians ought to be completed before the visit was made. From his second unsuccessful effort he returned to Wilts, and then, after a short stay in London, where he preached his farewell discourse to the Methodists, he went over to the Moravians. Then came his visit to Germany, to the Moravian settlements, and to the synod at Zeist. During his entire stay on the continent he confesses "there was no day passed wherein I did not think of Ireland, and always felt my heart melt with eagerness when I thought of going thither."[1] At the synod he was anxious to let his desire to go to Dublin be known, and did so in a letter which he gave to Count Zinzendorf, who "permitted me to follow my convictions without immediately sending me, only he wished me success."[2]

On Tuesday, June third, 1746 Cennick landed in Dublin. He records, "I could not refrain from tears, but prayed the Lord to stand by me in this strange country, where I was now alone, and not suffer me to come in vain."[3]

After a day of visitation with Taylor, who was somewhat hurt and estranged by Cennick's failure to come before, and with others who had previously asked for his ministry, arrangements were made for Cennick to preach on the following day. An old meeting-house, belonging to the Baptists, in Skinner's Alley, which had been prepared for Cennick's expected coming in the previous year, was borrowed for the service. He preached the first time to about a hundred and fifty people. Cennick records "now my heart rejoiced with joy unspeakable. I felt the Lamb with me, and spoke with power of God and with his blessing."[4]

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1. Ibid., p. 64.
2. Ibid., p. 64.
3. Ibid., p. 65.
4. Ibid., p. 65.

Here Mr. Benjamin La Trobe, a young probationer among the Baptists, fresh from his studies at the University of Glasgow, met and heard Cennick, was impressed and eventually united with him in his work. He finally joined the Moravians, and his descendants have held places of importance in the work of the Moravian Church ever since.

Dublin was apparently filled with a variety of heretical teachings, for Cennick identifies Socinians, Arians, New Light and other opponents to the "Godhead of the Lord Jesus, and of the free salvation through faith in his name."[1]

It was at this time also that many pamphlets were printed and handed out in Dublin, written in opposition to Cennick. One was a poem ridiculing Cennick, his doctrine and manner of preaching. Another that Cennick calls "a foolish but bitter thing"[2] was printed by James McConnel and circulated among the Presbyterians. This has been referred to before.[3] But it is well to hear Cennick's story of the man and his writing of it.

Cennick writes that McConnel was by trade a silk-throwster. He had appeared for some few days after Cennick's arrival in Dublin, as his friend. Once when he brought to Cennick a bundle of writings to read, which recorded his experiences and evidences of heaven, but which really contained nothing more than the account of his change of belief from the doctrine of free will to the Calvinistic system, Cennick said to him, "Dear Mr. McConnel, if you have nothing else to show when you come to the gate of heaven than this, I am afraid you will never enter in."[4] This statement, together with Cennick's reproving him once for using some impure jests, turned all his friendship into enmity, in which spirit he wrote his book. Cennick adds that McConnel was obliged to get a church minister as bitter as himself to correct and amend the writing. Cennick says that McConnel didn't know the difference between the Moravians and the Methodists, constantly confusing the two, and that what he had

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1. Ibid., p. 66.
2. Ibid., p. 66.
3. Ante, pp. 5, 6.
4. *The Messenger*, Vol. XII, p. 67.

to say in the book was chiefly extracted from Gilbert Tennant's book, which had been sent to Dublin in quantity to prejudice the Dissenters against Cennick and the Moravians. The rest, Cennick writes, "was lies and calumnies, and some true matters, but basely misrepresented."[1]

Certain societies in Dublin opposed him. A certain priest named Duggan wrote two different pamphlets against Cennick: *The Lady's Letter to Mr. Cennick* and *The Lady's Reply*. One of Cennick's friends answered the first one, but Cennick dissuaded him from answering the second.[2]

In the meantime things were going well at Skinner's Alley meeting-house where Cennick preached twice daily to crowds so great that those who wished to hear must be present two or three hours before the time, or else couldn't get in. All the windows were taken down so that people might hear in the burying-ground, yard, and environs, yet multitudes were disappointed. On Sundays all the tops of the houses near the meeting-house, all walls and windows were covered with people, and Cennick had to go in at the window, creeping over the heads of the people, to reach his pulpit. Often seven or eight priests were together to hear him, and many of the Church clergy, many teachers of religion and many collegians.[3] Some counted the congregations on several occasions and found the attendance generally more than a thousand, and once one thousand three hundred twenty-three.[4]

Soon there was opposition from Dissenters, trouble with mobs and with Catholic priests. However Cennick records one favorable spiritual experience with a Carmelite priest who later went out as a missionary.

Near the middle of July 1746, Cennick received from Mr. Deane of Ballymena an invitation to go into the North of Ireland. Cennick resolved to go, but couldn't for the present. About this time (Monday, July twenty-eighth) Cennick and

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1. Ibid., p. 67.
2. Ibid., p. 68.
3. Ibid., p. 68.
4. Ibid., p. 68.

his people were warned to quit the Skinner's Alley meeting-house or pay half a guinea per week during the pleasure of the owners. Cennick says that this was done chiefly by Mr. Samuel Edwards, who pretended a right to it because his father, Mr. Oswald Edwards, had been the preacher there. But there was so much interest among the better-minded Baptists that Edwards was persuaded to drop his demand for the present.[1]

From Wednesday, August sixth, 1746 to the Tuesday following, Cennick, accompanied by Mr. LaTrobe, Junior, and Mr. Antisel Taylor, went into the North of Ireland and, although he succeeded in preaching, ran into terrible resistance and mob opposition to the Gospel.[2]

Cennick continued to preach in Dublin, with great crowds and also with continued opposition, until September twenty-second, when, promising to return, he sailed from Dublin for England. No organized Society had been formed at Dublin, because the Brethren in London failed to give permission to create one. Benjamin LaTrobe was placed in charge of the work during Cennick's absence, and usually preached with great blessing. Cennick was away for almost a year and during his absence, on March twentieth, 1747, LaTrobe organized the Skinner's Alley people into a Society. By the time Cennick returned to Dublin in August 1747 it numbered five hundred twenty persons.[3]

On Cennick's trip from Dublin to London he went by way of Wales and through Wiltshire. The record is not clear concerning his activities during the period of almost a year that he was absent from Dublin. It is reasonable to believe that he visited and preached in Wiltshire, southwestern England, London and the other places in which he had declared the Gospel in an earlier day. It is known that he was in London, Wiltshire and Wales. The records show that in June 1747 he was married to Jane

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1. Ibid., p. 71.
2. Ibid., p. 97.
3. Ibid., p. 99; Cf., *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical*, Vol. VII, p. 43.

Bryant of Clack in Wiltshire.[1] He attended the Moravian Synod at Herrnhaag, in company with Gambold, Ingham, Okeley, and Hutton, where he remained for several months.[2] On Monday, August twenty-fourth, 1747 Cennick landed again in Dublin, accompanied by his wife. They were received with a good deal of joy, both by Brother LaTrobe and all the people, and found things much better than Cennick had expected.[3]

During his absence two problems had been created in the work, of which he had heard and which led him to expect difficulties. The first had been occasioned by the Baptists, who were principally responsible for Cennick's first invitation to Ireland. They became too zealous for their own manner of baptizing, and, taking advantage of Cennick's absence, had distributed books among the people to persuade them of the necessity of adult baptism only. Since Mr. LaTrobe's education and background were Baptist, those members of the group that came from the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church were the more disturbed, despite his faithful efforts to placate them. Many went entirely away from the Skinner's Alley congregation.[4]

The other problem was related to the coming of a Mr. Thomas Williams, who had been previously associated with the Methodists in England, but who was not in the best of reputation with them. He came to Dublin while Mr. LaTrobe happened to be in Waterford, and sought to ingratiate himself with some of Cennick's people. He said he was one of the Brethren, and many of Cennick's people would have received him joyfully into the meeting-house, but a few opposed it. These latter said that it was not like the Brethren to send some one without letters

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1. "Life of John Cennick", by Matthew Wilks, in *Village Discourses* by John Cennick, p. xx; Cf., Julian, John: *A Dictionary of Hymnology*; *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXII, (Supplement) p. 406; Benham, Daniel: *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 154. According to Matthew Wilks, three children were born to the Cennicks, two of whom, with Mrs. Cennick, survived him. p. xx.

2. Tyerman, L.: *The Oxfords Methodists*, pp. 182, 183; Cf., Addison, W. G., Op. cit., p. 123; Tyerman, L.: *Life of George Whitefield*, Vol. II, p. 238.

3. *The Messenger*, Vol. XII, p. 125.

4. Ibid., p. 99.

from other Brethren and notice of their coming, and desired that he wait until Mr. LaTrobe's return.

He, however, chose to preach and did so in a neighbour's yard, near to the Skinner's Alley place. He had good audiences, related many evil things about the Brethren, disputed about their doctrines and in general spread confusion. Greatly elated by his own success, Williams organized a Society and sent word to the Wesleys, seeking a reconciliation with them and asking their help in caring for the people of Dublin. Soon afterward two preachers were sent by the Methodists in answer to his request, Mr. Reeves and Mr. Trimbath, who headed the party for Wesley.[1]

On August ninth John Wesley himself came and a month later Charles Wesley, his brother.[2] The Methodists had occupied a former Lutheran Church in Marlborough and for several reasons found the premises unpleasant. So Charles Wesley and Thomas Williams were searching for other accommodations when, on September twenty-ninth, they met Mr. Edwards who told them he disliked his Skinner's Alley tenants and was resolved to raise the rent. He asked if the Methodists would be willing to take the room at sixteen pounds a year if Cennnick and his Society refused it. The answer was, according to Charles Wesley's Journal, "if they had the first offer and did not accept it, we should be glad of the next refusal".[3] Subsequently the Moravians were ordered to leave the Skinner's Alley location or begin the payment of the doubled rent. This demand was in addition to the substantial expenditures for building improvement which the Brethren had laid out. An interchange of correspondence ensued which included the protests of the Breth-

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1. Ibid., p. 101; Cf., *Proceedings of Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. XVII, pp. 36, 37.
2. Ibid., p. 37.
3. Ibid., p. 37. Because most Methodist accounts are based on *John Wesley's Letters*, which include only part of his letters on the matter, and none of the letters to him, or replies of the Brethren, it has been thought well to include with this thesis a copy of the total correspondence in connection with the beginnings in Dublin and the securing of Skinner's Alley meeting-house and subsequent eviction from it. This material is supplied by Charles T. Keatinge, Archivist of the Dublin Moravian Church. It is included as Appendix B.

ren against this unfriendly conduct. Eventually on Christmas Eve the Brethren were forcibly evicted from the premises.[1]

The Methodists soon established themselves in the Skinner's Alley meeting house, and by the following March (March 29, 1748) John Wesley himself preached there.[2] Meanwhile Cennick preached in private homes until the securing of a new place in Big Butter Lane, which was accomplished on Cennick's own authority on March fifteenth, 1748. Then, leaving the work in the hands of Br. Toeltschig who had been sent to assist him and had been thoroughly introduced to the place, Cennick left Dublin with his wife for London, on March twenty-third.[3]

On May seventh, 1748 Cennick and his wife and others returned to Dublin. He preached again in the new location at Butter Lane and with great success. He and his wife moved into a room in the new building in June where they lived until he again went into the North of Ireland on June twenty-third, 1748.

I. The North of Ireland

Reference has already been made to Cennick's first visit to the North of Ireland in 1746, which visit lasted about a week and was marked by violent opposition to him and his message.[4] On his second trip almost two years later he was accompanied by Br. Jonathan Binns. Prior to starting, the matter of his going north again had been much on his heart. News from Mr. Deane and others had convinced him of the need and also the desire on the part of many. After securing the prayers for guidance from others of the Brethren the journey was begun.

The first message was delivered on June twenty-fourth, 1748 in the county of Down, about eight miles beyond Newry.[5] From there Cennick and his companions proceeded to the county

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1. Cf., *The Messenger*, Vol. XII, p. 127; *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. XVII, p. 37. The whole story is to be found in Appendix B of this thesis.
2. Ibid., p. 37.
3. *The Messenger*, Vol. XII, p. 128.
4. Ante, p. 104.
5. *The Messenger*, Vol. XIII, p. 54.

of Antrim, where they met very great and violent opposition from the Presbyterians. The opposition was the more effective because it was led by Captain Adair, the lord of the manor. A Quaker farmer permitted Cennick to preach on his farm when all other places were closed to him, and when friends, even Binns, urged him to desist, because of opposition. But eventually the clamor put up by the opponents and the violence both threatened and actual, forced Cennick to take refuge in the home of the Quaker. While there he asked permission from an elder of Connor, William Harper of Ballee, to preach on his land which was near at hand, but of another estate not subject to Captain Adair. Mr. Harper said that if Cennick was a servant of Christ and meant well, he might preach on his premises. Some two or three hundred people remained to hear him and he also announced a meeting for the same place on the next day.[1]

Every possible machination of the enemy was brought into play to discredit him. Cennick was accused of the grossest crimes in the Isle of Man, a place where he had never been. He refused to refute the charges or permit some women from Bristol to do so, who happened to know all about Cennick and his whereabouts at the time of the accused crime. Meanwhile the stories about him and the opposition to him increased interest in him, the people flocked from all quarters to hear him, and invitations were received to preach in other places. No wonder Hutton refers to this period as "the brightest part of Cennick's career."[2]

On Sunday, July third, 1748, at Ballee, at least ten thousand people heard him preach. In the week he preached from village to village two or three times every day. Brother Binns returned to Dublin and was replaced by Brother Grant. Brother Deane stayed with him every day faithfully for many months.

Cennick returned to Dublin on Monday, August eighth, with Brother Grant for the purpose of meeting Dr. Stone, the Archbishop of Armagh and the Primate. He expressed friendliness and promised his protection. Dr. Stone was informed by Cennick of the fact that Cennick had, in his recent trouble in the North,

1. Ibid., pp. 55, 56.
2. *John Cennick, A Sketch*, p. 49.

been made a prisoner at large until a date in November, and that there was the possibility of prison after that date because of Cennick's scruples against taking an oath of allegiance. The Primate asked Cennick to write him if this should happen and he would cause him to be set free.[1] The brethren Cennick and Knight set out on foot that same night for the north.

An effort had been made to prove that Cennick was a Jesuit and Papist and disloyal to the King, and Cennick's scruples against taking an oath stood in the way of his thoroughly clearing himself of the charges. As stated, he had been placed under general arrest until the following November fifteenth, i.e., for three months. When his term as a prisoner at large was over, and when on November fifteenth the one hostile justice was seized with a physical malady and no other justice took up the matter, it was dropped. He continued to preach in four counties, as he put it, "with great fatigue and with great blessing on my labours, night and day."[2]

In the meantime, between his visit to the Primate and his release from general arrest, he extended the work to Ballywee near Doagh. He was joined by his wife at the end of August, held the first children's meeting at Ballee, took a house at Craigbilly on October fourth, but didn't move into it until December. He visited and received fair treatment from Dr. Rider, bishop of Down and Connor. Cennick preached for the first time at Lisnamara, in the county of Londonderry, preached at a part of Koot called Ardmey, in the county of Antrim, and in the latter place was brought before Mr. Hugh Boyd, a justice of the peace, of Ballycastle.[3]

On November fourteenth, 1748, he went with Brother Turton to Craigbilly, in a deep snow, and there began the first society with only six persons. The remarkable thing about this is that before a year had elapsed no less than six hundred persons belonged to it. It was also out of this society that the societies of Grogan, Gloonen, and Doagh were formed.[4]

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1. *The Messenger*, Vol. XII, p. 130; Vol. XIII, p. 59.
2. Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 130, 131, 169.
3. Ibid., pp. 131, 132, 168.
4. Ibid., pp. 168, 169.

After moving into the house in Craigbilly in December, Cennick and his associates hired a large barn which they converted into a chapel. A society was formed there, holding regular services thereafter, and it became part of a circuit of places reached regularly by Cennick and Turton. Cennick's household at Craigbilly included the two brethren, Mrs. Cennick and an old servant. Though they lived in exceedingly great poverty, they were contented and satisfied, with the country people contributing foodstuffs and fuel to assist them.[1]

Cennick and his companions continued to work in the north counties in early 1749, visiting the work in the counties of Derry, Tyrone and Armagh in early January. Then he made a four-day trip to Dublin the middle of the month. He again itinerated in the north, except for another visit to Dublin of some weeks duration in late February and early March. After this he labored until May sixteenth when the work in the north was left in the hands of Brother Pugh, who with his wife had located in Craigbilly earlier in the month. Then Cennick left for England.[2]

He was absent from Ireland for about six months. He occupied the chapel pulpit in White's Alley, London, during May 1749 and for several months thereafter. Again in February 1750 he started a Society fellowship there and kept the meetings. He served there again in June and July 1753.[3]

Meanwhile on this same trip to London Cennick was ordained a Deacon of the Church of the Brethren. It occurred on September nineteenth, 1749. Benham's description of it follows:

> "After a short pause, the Ordinary began singing that hymn 'Most worthy Spirit, Guide of Jesus' train' &c., during which the Brn. Leonard and Christel and Boehler, on the one side, and Mother Anna and Anna Joanna, on the other, rose up and conferred the order of Deacon and Deaconess on the following candidates: Brn. Gross, James Hutton, John Cennick, Bee, Buntebart, Meyer, Seydel, Thomas Knight,

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1. Ibid., p. 169.
2. Ibid., pp. 170, 171, 172.
3. Benham, Daniel, op. cit., p. 197.

Lemke, Gneuss; Srs. Maria Theresa Stonehouse, Gross, Benzein, Hauptman, Mary Gambold, Cossart, Grubner, Baumgarten, Gneuss."[1]

After six months absence Cennick and his wife, together with Brother Brampton, returned to Craigbilly on Saturday, November eleventh, 1749. His work as evangelist, itinerant preacher, organizer of Societies, builder of chapel and churches,—and for brief periods, that of pastor also, continued. By the end of 1749 the work had now gone into four of the North Ireland counties, Antrim, Derry, Tyrone and Armagh. There was only one chapel, that made out of a barn in Craigbilly, and two Societies, that of Craigbilly and Drumahl.[2]

The work, as just described, was continued by Cennick until within three months of his early death. There were periods of absence from the North of Ireland, but always the work was left in competent hands and Cennick always hastened back to the work.

Two such periods of absence from the North Ireland work occurred in 1750. The first extended from January eighth to August eighth and on this visit Cennick went to England. Each trip took him through Dublin where he certainly met the Brethren and visited the congregation there. It was during this absence that he established a society fellowship, in February, at White's Alley, London.[3] Later in the year was a briefer absence for ten days, from October eighth to eighteenth that was spent in Dublin.[4] The year 1750 ended with four chapels established, twenty-eight children baptized, and nine persons besides Cennick labouring in the ministry in the North of Ireland.

Cennick was again in Dublin from January thirtieth to February twelfth, 1751, and again in the autumn from October tenth to November seventh. From March eighteenth to June twenty-ninth he was in England. What specific activities engaged him in England we do not know, but it is quite likely that

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1. Ibid., pp. 241, 242; Cf., *Moravian Missions*, p. 124. The Br. Leonhard is Leonard Dober.
2. *The Messenger*, Vol. XIII, p. 172.
3. Ante, pp. 114.
4. *The Messenger*, Vol. XIII, pp. 172, 212.

they included visits to the Societies in various parts of southwest England and in London.

From January 1752 to the end of July the record of the labours of Cennick in the *Fraternal Record* seem to indicate his absence from the North of Ireland.[1] From Benham we learn that in February of that year he visited Cootehill where he met Brother Pugh. This was on the eleventh and he continued there until the fourteenth. On that day and the succeeding one he traveled on to Dublin. Apparently from there Cennick went on his visit to England.[2] We know that he preached in Yorkshire on this trip, and probably at various other places in England. By the end of 1752 the work of Cennick and his co-laborers in the North of Ireland had reached the counties, Cavan, Monaghan, Armagh, Down, Antrim, Derry and Tyrone.

The longest absence from the North of Ireland, during these years, came in 1753 when Cennick was away all year. He preached in Dublin several times, in Kingswood and in Bath during that year. But this was the year of his great work in Wales. He preached in Haverford-West, Philbath on Milford-Haven, and Pembroke among other places there. Much of the spring and autumn was spent in visiting and instructing the people of South Wales in the nature of a Religious Society. He was conducted from village to village by Mr. George Gambold, the brother of John Gambold, and was thus introduced to many places which otherwise might never have had the advantage of his ministrations.[3]

During the visit to Wales in 1753 Cennick was instrumental, at Haverford-West, in effecting the conversion of Edward Lee, a malefactor who was executed for robbery. Cennick wrote an account of his conversion.[4] In connection with the conversion he secured a full confession of the prisoner.

There appears to have been an absence from the North of

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1. Cf., Vol. I, p. 50.
2. *Life and Labours of the Rev. John Gambold*, pp. 65, 66.
3. Ibid., p. 94; Cf., Appendix C, post, p. 283.
4. Cennick, John: *Twenty Discourses on Important Subjects*. Following the twenty discourses is "An Account of the Conversion of Edward Lee."

Ireland from July to September 1754, and then Cennick remained there until he came out in April 1755, less than three months before his death.

Except for the absences just listed Cennick was indefatigably engaged in preaching, teaching, establishing societies, building chapels, holding conferences, engaging in occasional doctrinal discussions and disputes in seven counties in the North of Ireland. Bishops Peter Boehler and Johannes von Watteville, as well as other ministers of the Brethren's Church, at different times visited him and his work. Opposition and persecution were faced and he was often regarded with suspicion. It is fair to the people of North Ireland to say that the attitude of suspicion was occasioned by the recent attempt of "the young Pretender" to restore the Stuarts and Roman Catholicism in power in England. On one occasion von Watteville was declared to be "the young Pretender."

Cennick wore himself out with labors. Zinzendorf called him "Paul Revived." Hutton remarks that the "epithet was not entirely undeserved."[1] He became exceedingly popular, in spite of great opposition and persecution, though he did not curry favor with an easy gospel. With the popularity the labors became greater, and Cennick never spared himself. Increasingly in his records there are indications of sickness. Though Cennick was but four months beyond his thirty-sixth birthday when he left the North of Ireland in April 1755, he was practically worn out in service for his Lord.

J. Last Ministry in Dublin, and Close of Earthly Life.

Cennick had written to Johannes von Watteville,

> "I think I have finished with the North of Ireland. I am leaving just at the right time. I am ready to go wherever the Saviour wants me; but the best of all would be to go to the Lord Himself."[2]

When Cennick went for the last time to Dublin he participated in the opening of the new chapel there, preaching the sermon.

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1. *John Cennick, A Sketch*, p. 65.
2. *Moravian Missions*, Vol. 3-4, p. 124.

That was on April twelfth, 1755. Then he continued preaching in Dublin for approximately two months, until his journey to London. Again large crowds attended his preaching and there was a new awakening in the whole place, according to Matthew Wilks.[1] He also kept almost all of the congregational meetings. On May 24, 1755 he wrote a letter to F. Okely, formerly of St. John's College, Cambridge, then minister at Dukinfield. Peculiar interest attaches to it because it is one of the last letters Cennick ever wrote:

Dublin, May 24, 1755

"Dearest Br. Okely,

Yours of the 7th of this month rejoiced me much. I thank you for it. Where I know myself not right, I speak to the Lamb of God about it, being sorry He should see anything unseemly in me. Thus He forgives me; his eyes are upon me, and I feel the proofs of his faithfulness without number. You cannot tell with what a poor heart I came hither to open the new church; and yet after the deepest humiliation and confession before my Lord, both on my own and others'' account, what a feeling He gave us of his forgiveness and divine presence with us in the preaching. I am bound for Wales, and through Bristol to London. But I am kept here blind in regard to my time of setting out from hence. The Cloud rests, and I rest. When that moves the Lord's poor herd-boy shall follow willingly (Num. IX, 15-23). Toeltschig loves me dearly, and I him. We are in sweet harmony and openness of heart towards each other. He salutes you. I thank our Saviour sincerely for all his grace afforded you in time of need.

My heart is as thy own heart, and Jesus shall still be the faithful witness between us, that we will aim at nothing in all our love and correspondence, but to live and act for his Name's sake. He is the God of our life; the Angel that saved us out of the world, and redeemed us out of all our troubles and sins; whose presence shall be our most precious treas-

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1. Op. cit., p. XX; Cf., Holmes, John, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 335.

ure for ever.

The best blessings He has, light upon thee, keep thee in peace, and in true poverty; and in all thy labours, his ears be open to thy sighs and complaints; and his hand lead thee till I kiss thee above! In Him I am thine eternally, John Cennick."[1]

The last sentence of Cennick's letter gave Okely a thrill, and the more so when he learned later that Cennick had landed in London and was very ill. He wrote:

"Your solemn farewell, and particularly these words in your last to me, 'His hand lead thee, till I kiss thee above', struck and thrilled through me at the first reading; making me think, that as you still persisted in the desire of going home to our Saviour, your request would probably be now gratified; which impression was renewed with double force at the subsequent news of your sickness."

He expresses the hope, however, that his lines will find Cennick much better in health and invites him to visit him, when health and freedom permits. That letter was written by Okely on July 5, 1755. John Cennick had departed this life the day before.[2]

Cennick had intended, as his letter indicates, to visit South Wales once more, and his friends were expecting to see him. He had promised by letter, a little while before, that he would shortly go there, and had arranged upon his arrival to send word to the brethren in London concerning his proposed visit with them.

On Saturday noon, June twenty-eighth, 1755, the brethren at Fetter Lane were talking at the table about his expected visit and wondering why they had heard nothing about his arrival in Wales. At that moment someone stepped up and told them that Brother Cennick had come into the house and was very ill. They went to him and he said

"I am extremely sick and feverish, and I think my senses fail me a little; I have scarce eat, drank, or slept since I

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1. *The Messenger*, Vol. XI, p. 66.
2. Ibid., p. 67.

landed: I have had much ado to sit the horse: these five days were very long ones; how thankful am I, that I have got hither at last!"[1]

He had, apparently, ridden from Holyhead to London in a high state of fever.

His flesh burnt like a coal, they put him in bed, and from first to last used their best endeavours to restore him. When asked what he thought had brought the fever upon him, he said that he had caught some cold on board the ship. When asked further why he didn't stop as soon as he found himself sick, he answered: "I did not choose to lie down in a strange place; I wanted to reach home first."[2] He continued for about a week. Among those who came to see him was Bishop John Gambold, who told him this illness might be his last. Cennick responded quietly, "I should like that best of all, I want to be taken to His arms."[3] He was heard to cry out very affectionately, "Dear Saviour, dear Saviour, give me patience."[4] About seven o'clock in the evening, on July fourth, 1755 the brave spirit passed away. He passed away at age thirty-six, in the early prime of life. Bishop Gambold gently closed his eyes. His body was laid to rest in the "Sharon's Garden," the Brethren's burial-ground at Chelsea. Eight humdred people attended his funeral. He was interred in the same burial grounds and in the same row where the bodies of Peter Boehler and James Hutton are buried.[5]

K. Personal Characteristics.

John Cennick was a striking and attractive personality. He was rather below the middle stature, of a fair countenance and of a fairer mind. He had a good understanding, an open temper and a tender heart. His Christian qualities were not less dis-

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1. Wilks, Matthew, op. cit., p. xxi; Cf., Hutton, J. E., *John Cennick, A Sketch*, p. 70; *Moravian Missions*, Vol. 3-4, p. 124.
2. Wilks, op. cit., p. xxi.
3. Hutton, J. C., *John Cennick, A Sketch*. p. 71; Cf., Wilks, op. cit., p. xxii.
4. Ibid., p. xxii.
5. Ibid., p. xxii; Cf., Hutton: *Cennick*, p. 71, *Moravian Missionary*, Vol. 3-4, p. 124; also *Moravian Messenger*, January, 1938, pp. 4 & 5; May, 1938, p. 51.

tinguishable. He was of unaffected humility and lived a life of communion with God. His life was marked by a cheerful reliance on a crucified Saviour. He was convinced of his call to the ministry and possessed a warm love for Jesus Christ. Unwearied in preaching and service, he suffered more patiently than most have been called upon to do. The Gospel that he eagerly dispensed was the food of his own soul. He experienced a large measure of success and was honoured by the response which he won. His career was short, but if life may be estimated by the comparative quantity of good produced in it, then this truly active, spiritual, and useful man may be said to have lived to a good old age.[1]

Concerning his spiritual characteristics his biographer wrote the following:

> "Zeal for the name of his Lord, and bowels of tenderness towards poor souls, with a desire of rescuing them from spiritual thraldom and misery, through faith in the atonement, the just motive of a gospel preacher, alone and strongly actuated him, and would not suffer his tongue to be silent. That this topic was indeed every where his grand subject, and gave his manner of preaching its distinguishing character, may be gathered from his hymns and sermons, and epistolary correspondence."[2]

And Wesley's biographer is almost as commendatory when he writes of him, whom he calls Methodism's first lay preacher.

> "This is not the place to pursue the footsteps of Methodism's first lay preacher. Suffice it to remark, though his career was comparatively short, in zealous and successful labour it is difficult to equal it. Cennick had his weaknesses; but, in deadness to the world, communion with God, Christian courage, and cheerful patience, he had few superiors. Despite his Calvinism and his differences with Wesley, we admire and love the man."[3]

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1. Wilks, op. cit., p. xxii; Cf., Hasse, E. R., op. cit., p. 74; Holmes, John, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 336.
2. Wilks, op. cit., pp. xviii and xix.
3. Tyerman, L.: *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 276.

Again in speaking of Wesley's choice of Cennick for the work he writes as follows:

> "In no man was there a greater combination of docility and courage; and hence, when Wesley met with men like Cennick, full of fervent consciousness of the reality, power, and blessedness of Christ's religion; and employing a style, terse from intensity of feeling, and copious from the fulness of their theme—no wonder that, instead of forbidding, he encouraged them to preach the glorious truths, which they not merely understood, but felt."[1]

Such was the man whose brief sixteen years of ministry came to an end on July fourth, 1755.

L. Cennick's Publications.

During Cennick's brief but busy life he published several works of some significance. This reference is not to the various personal and congregational diaries that he kept that were later published in the various denominational organs, but rather to his formal publications such as hymn books, sermons, doctrinal treatise and pamphlets.

The first publication was *Sacred Hymns for the Children of God, In the Days of their Pilgrimage* and was published in 1741, when Cennick was twenty-two years of age. This is the volume that Charles Wesley indicates in his diary that he had revised for the press in 1739. Why it did not come out until two years later is not known. It is the first edition of Cennick's own hymns. A second edition was published the same year. A copy of this first edition is in Union Seminary Library. In it is Cennick's famous "Grace before Meat."

> "Be present at our Table, Lord:
> Be here, and ev'rywhere ador'd;
> Thy creatures bless, and grant that we,
> May feast in Paradise with Thee."[2]

It also contains his somewhat less familiar "Grace after Meat." In this the first four lines are often quoted but the last four scarcely at all.

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1. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 276.
2. P. 75.

"We bless Thee Lord, for this our food,
But more for Jesus' Flesh and Blood;
The Manna to our spirits giv'n,
The Living Bread sent down from Heav'n;
Praise shall our grateful lips employ,
While life and plenty we enjoy;
Till worthy, we adore Thy name,
While banqueting with Christ the Lamb."[1]

In the "Preface" to this volume he records his spiritual experience in some detail.[2]

In 1742 another volume, bearing the same name and containing one hundred thirty-nine hymns, was issued. This is doubtless another edition of the same work. This volume begins with a dedicatory poem as well as "The Preface." There is also "The Table" which is an index of hymns. The title page of the next work is: "*A Treatise of the Holy Ghost*, Wherein is proved, That the Spirit of God was in the prophets and Apostles, and in every true believer, to the end of the World. by John Cennick, late of Reading in Berkshire. London:1742. Printed and sold by J. Lewis." It is typical of Cennick's emphasis that he should write on this subject.

Two different editions of another hymn book came out in 1743 titled *Sacred Hymns for the use of Religious Societies Generally composed in dialogues*. These were both published in Bristol. The hymn book was re-issued at intervals up to 1764.[3] It contained the well-known hymn "Thou dear Redeemer, dying Lamb."

An early publication in which Cennick had a part was really the first Methodist newspaper. Tyerman's account of it will indicate that.

"A weekly publication, of four folio pages, entitled 'The Weekly History; or an account of the most remarkable particulars relating to the present progress of the gospel'

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1. P. 75.
2. See Appendix A, post, p. 238.
3. *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. V, p. 106.

was immediately started (that is following the separation of Whitefield, Cennick and others from the Wesleys) by J. Lewis, Whitefield promising to supply him with fresh matter every week. This was really the first Methodist newspaper ever published. Of course Calvinism was its inspiring genius. The principal contributors were Whitefield, Cennick, Howel Harris, and Joseph Humphreys."[1]

Cennick published *An Account of a late riot at Exeter* in 1745. It indicated the horrors of the persecutions which some of the Methodist preachers underwent.

Individual sermons of Cennick's began to appear quite early. Three that were printed in 1754 are in the New York Public Library, namely, (1) "The Lost Sheep, pieces of silver, and prodigal son, being the substance of a discourse delivered in the County of Antrim in Ireland in 1750," (2) "The Shadows of Christ. Being the substance of a discourse delivered in the North of Ireland in the year 1751," and (3) "The Fall and redemption. Being the substance of a sermon preached at Ballynabone in the County of Tyrone in Ireland in the year 1752."

Wilks tells us that "though he was not forward in publishing, yet not long before his death, as if aware that his vocal ministry would shortly be at an end, he consented to the printing of the two volumes of his sermons."[2] These appeared in 1754. They were republished in 1803, 1809 and 1840 under different titles such as: *Discourses on Important Subjects*, *Forty Discourses on Important Subjects*, and *Village Discourses*. These forty messages include all the sermons published by Cennick, although, as indicated above, there were some of the sermons published as individual sermons. Then other collections of sermons included various selections from these forty. *Seventeen Discourses* was published in 1754, and really includes twenty-two discourses. A later selection was called *Twenty Discourses*. When these are added to the diaries both individual and congregational,

1. *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 346.
2. Op. cit., p. xx.

the correspondence he maintained, the articles and letters in "The Weekly History" and the constant round of preaching several times daily, one is impressed with the prodigious work he performed. Most, if not all the hymns in his sacred song books were his own compositions. Such hymns as "Children of the Heavenly King," "Cast thy burden on the Lord," "Thou dear Redeemer, dying Lamb," "We sing to Thee, Thou Son of God," suggest that many were of real worth. There was a special hymn book for children in 1749. Many of his sermons are followed by original sacred poems. In addition he wrote: "The Conversion of Edward Lee;" a poem depicting his own life and conversion; a poem titled "Nunc Dimittis," (found in his pocket-book at his death); his autobiography; "A Confession of faith;" "A letter to the little Children, especially to those who want to know how to go to Heaven;" and prefaces to several of the different volumes that he published.

M. Conclusion.

A great deal of space has been devoted to the times and especially to the life of John Cennick. Perhaps, at first sight, it may seem disproportional to the remainder of the thesis. However, it will be seen that the seeming lack of proportion is not actual, for the times not only created the necessity for, but also elicited the emphasis of his messages. The messages and the theological ideas behind them and undergirding them were directly related to the life, associations, conflicts, and spiritual experiences of the man. To attempt to understand Cennick's theology without understanding Cennick's times, his home and family, his conversion, his background, his call to the ministry, his extensive labours, his inner thought and struggles, his outer conflicts with the different viewpoints both of his day and of his associates, and his extensive evangelistic labours in which he so often guided the spiritual struggles of others, is to attempt the impossible.

Knowing the man and his times, seeing him oriented to the totality of experiences that made his life, it is not a too difficult nor too lengthy task to set forth his basic theological beliefs.

CHAPTER IV

Formative Factors In Cennick's Theology

It is the purpose of this chapter to attempt to show what factors in the life, environment and experience of John Cennick may have led to or have influenced the formation of the theological views which he held. Although it is quite impossible to assert with certainty concerning all of the hereditary, environmental and experiential elements that may be influential in bringing any man to his basic beliefs, it is often easily possible to point out trends of influence. That is the intention of this brief chapter.

A. His Family Background.

Cennick's grandparents had been Quakers and had suffered persecution for their faith, even as we have indicated.[1] Cennick had been told about them by his mother, and undoubtedly had come to admire them for a loyalty that permitted them to lose all their property for their Christian faith. In addition many writers assert that his forbears had come to England, following the Battle of White Mountain when the Protestant cause was lost in the Thirty Years War. So even in Bohemia his people had been people of courageous Protestant convictions.[2]

Some of the resistance to the emotional extremes that attended Wesley's preaching, and often Cennick's own, as has already been set forth, may be related to this Quaker background. Likewise Cennick's very strong emphasis on the Spirit of God may be related to a people who counted so much on the direct motivation of God's Spirit. His emphasis on the riches of the Christian and a concomitant obliviousness to economic goods seems to be a spiritual heritage from forbears who were willing to lose all for the Pearl of Great Price they had discovered in Christ.

His own parents were of the Church of England and, as has been indicated, trained him in the principles of religion. Likewise, as is known from his recital of his spiritual experience, they

1. Ante, pp. 39, 40.
2. See footnote, ante, p. 39.

trained him also in the observance of religious duties and devotional practices. Cennick's own ecclesiology was directly related to this childhood training. In fact in a controversy in the North of Ireland he contended that he had never departed from his episcopal views and adherence.[1]

B. A Childhood Experience.

The far-reaching influence of the visit with his mother to her aunt's death-bed cannot but have been a formative influence on his later doctrinal beliefs[2]. The certainty of heaven that the aunt possessed and the joy with which she anticipated death, because of that certainty, made the boy exceedingly desirous that he might have a like certainty before his call should come to depart this life. Nothing receives greater emphasis in Cennick's preaching than the assurance of salvation. In fact he practically identifies salvation and the assurance of it. Certainly one of the influences that led him to this view was this boyhood experience. It would not be straying far to assert that the experience likewise affected his eschatological views, though rather in espousing the orthodox evangelical view than in making any departure from it. It was surely a factor in effecting his own conversion and experience of assurance of salvation.

C. Cennick's Transforming Spiritual Experience.

It would probably be impossible to exaggerate the far-reaching influence of the transforming spiritual experience which came to John Cennick on September 6, 1737,[3] as a determinative factor in the formation of his theological views. Experience is said to precede doctrine. With Cennick experience was the culmination of over two years of almost indescribable spiritual agony. The horrors and fears of the days of hopelessness, confusion, purposelessness, certainty of hell and the wrath of God, could not be easily eradicated from memory, nor would the remembrance of them ever permit the one who experienced them to place a high estimate on human righteousness or on the ability of a man whithout divine aid to achieve spiritually. It is not sur-

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1. *The Fraternal Record*, Vol. I, p. 27; Cf., *The Messenger*, Vol. XIII, p. 217.
2. Ante, pp. 41, 42.
3. Ante, pp. 43-53; Cf., Appendix A, post, p. 238.

prising that Cennick later taught the natural corruption of man, and the utter failure of his works of righteousness to please God or to satisfy man himself. He resisted vehemently the teaching of the Wesleys that seemed to him to place value on the works of the law. He likewise opposed that type of message of free grace which seemed to teach that God's grace was easily available to all men, merely requiring their turning to accept it. Undoubtedly his struggles in seeking God's freedom for himself made him certain that man's efforts were unavailing, that only God's Spirit could make the human heart receptive. Nevertheless, he did not hold to the doctrine of reprobation or election to damnation. There was a time in his own agony when he believed that of himself. When God forgave him and received him he could not but believe that any soul that turned to God in Christ would find mercy and salvation.

Not only the darkness and agony of his own experience was effective in influencing his theological views, but also the illumination and joy that followed it. His idea of saving faith, as laying hold on the redemption provided and appropriating the Lamb, grows out of this experience. His opposition to Wesley's degrees of faith is related to Cennick's own transforming experience of that faith which is certainty. Likewise his identification of redeeming faith with assurance of faith grew out of his own glorious experience in which forgiveness and the certainty of it and of God's love and presence in his life all came at once. His doctrinal emphasis on the Holy Spirit that will be noted, had a direct relation to his experience of salvation and illumination. The Spirit's operation in salvation and particularly His part in guiding the sinner to see his sinfulness and in making salvation through Christ the Saviour available, are all greatly emphasized by Cennick. It seems certain that these views are related to Cennick's own transforming spiritual experience.

Because this experience reached its culmination in the St. Lawrence Anglican Church, and because it represented no conflict with that Church but rather sympathetic appreciation of it, Cennick's future ideas of the church were in some measure

shaped by this phase of his experience. As already indicated he asserted his belief in the episcopal type of church government. Here are his words:

> "I also told him that I firmly believed bishops were instituted in the Church of God, adding, I am an episcopalian, every inch of me, and every drop of blood in me is episcopal."[1]

Had his spiritual transformation been accomplished in one of the religious societies or elsewhere other than the Church, possibly his ecclesiology might have been changed.

D. Cennick's Biblical Knowledge.

John Cennick's sermons and his *Treatise on the Holy Ghost* are saturated with Biblical quotations and with Biblical ideas. All his sermons that are extant are based on the Scriptures. All his spiritual ideas are Biblical. Since his first preaching was clearly Biblical also, it is certain that he had somehow acquired a rather thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, and this was certainly formative in his theological views. After his transforming spiritual experience he had feared to read Whitefield's journal, because he feared to read any books but the Bible and Hugo's Emblems. Undoubtedly the year and nine months between his conversion and the beginning of his preaching at Kingswood were days and weeks filled with increasing acquaintance with the Bible, and joy in this message of God to his own soul. The Bible was certainly a major influence in the formation of his doctrinal views.

E. Cennick's Close Association with and Controversies with the Wesleys.

It seems certain that Cennick's intimate associations with the Wesley brothers, particularly his disagreements with them on matters of doctrine, had an influence in stabilizing his theological views and giving them definiteness. Tyerman makes a statement about Cennick's violent prejudice against the Wesleys, without assigning any reason for it, that does throw light on the influence on Cennick's views of association and controversy with the Wesleys.

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1. *Fraternal Record*, Vol. I, p. 27.

"John Cennick, a good man, and brave evangelist, was violently prejudiced against the Wesleys, and had more influence with Whitefield than was profitable. Noblehearted Howell Harris, also, felt so strongly respecting the disagreement, that, in a letter dated October 27, 1740, his godly wrath branded Wesley's opposition of the Calvinian doctrine with the offensive epithet, 'Hellish infection'."[1]

One is surprised that the biographer finds the problem in the prejudice of Cennick, particularly when Howell Harris apparently agreed with him, and Whitefield was influenced by him. Might not it seem more likely to the unbiased reviewer that it was either the stubbornness of the Wesleys or the weakness of their viewpoint? When three men, of otherwise independent views and positions, such as the three named, take a viewpoint different from that of the two members of one family, the prejudice is usually assigned in the other direction.

Another estimate of the elements in Cennick's disagreements with John Wesley is given by the Rev. A. H. Mumford of England:

"He was not quite in affinity with Wesley. Wesley's fierce and uncompromising Arminianism—Wesley's incessant and bitter tirades against Calvinism—turned his (Cennick's) thoughts to Whitefield who, by the way, in spite of his stern, and surely cruel Calvinism, seems to have been personally more gentle, more humane than his doctrinal antagonist. But perhaps Cennick's main objection to John Wesley's type of Religion arose from the doctrine of 'Sinless Perfection', taught, or implied, by John Wesley."[2]

On Cennick's own word, as has already been made known, he was troubled by the assertions that if we have no other righteousness than the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, we can't be saved; that a soul justified by the blood of Jesus Christ, and having the assurance of forgiveness and the witness of God's Spirit bearing witness with his spirit that he is a child of God,

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1. *Life of George Whitefield*, Vol. I, p. 47.
2. *The Moravian Messenger*, Vol. XLVII, p. 114.

can finally and eternally perish; and that a man can become so perfect in this world that he shall not only not commit sin but shall be without sin and be inherently holy as God.[1]

These disagreements and controversies helped Cennick, who, it must be remembered, was a very young man at the time they occurred, to clarify his own understanding of the doctrines of the Gospel. These experiences set his mind against doctrinal controversy and helped to prepare him for an appreciation of the doctrinal views of the Moravian which were less rigid and largely non-controversial. His own doctrinal viewpoints also show traces of these controversies. His emphasis on the utter inadequacy of any works of man to satisfy God's demands and on the complete covering of Christ's righteousness as the great need, may be traced to his feeling that the Wesleys seemed to emphasize human works rather than Christ's imputed righteousness.

Likewise his statement to Charles Wesley that he doubted not of universal redemption only he would be glad to find a doctrine whereby election and universal redemption could be made to agree, indicates his struggle to find the truth, and to reconcile apparently conflicting viewpoints.[2]

Of minor significance as formative to Cennick's theological views was the association and separation from Whitefield, Howell Harris and the Calvinistic Methodists. When Cennick preached to the peasants of Wiltshire he became as discontented with the rigid Calvinism of Whitefield and the others as he had formerly been with the strict Arminiamism of the Wesleys. It was at this time that he attempted to get the three evangelical groups together in London, but failed.[3]

When the Calvinistic Methodists began to persecute him because he spoke too much of the person of the Saviour, stood aloof from the doctrine of reprobation, as well as fellowshipped with the Moravians, and when they criticized him for introducing classes or choirs into the Societies at the Tabernacle, it

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1. Ante, p. 64.
2. Ante, 65.
3. Ante, p. 7.

was easy for him to take the next step and join the Moravians.[1] The effect on his doctrinal position was, possibly, to crystallize the views that already had been substantially his own.

F. Cennick's Adherence to the Moravians.

One of the things that kept Cennick from belief in sinless perfection was his own consciousness of his imperfections. He had a sense of poor sinnership and possibly that was one of the things that inclined him to the Moravians. The Moravians were humbly aware of their lack of having attained perfection and of the daily need of the daily prayer 'Forgive us our trespasses'. They were never bitter in their theology, and although not Calvinists, their leader, Count Zinzendorf had welcomed the Christian Calvinists of Holland as fellow Christians.[2]

Cennick had met the Moravian Brethren on one of his many visits to London, and was attracted to them. He had met Zinzendorf in 1743; had met Peter Boehler, to whom John and Charles Wesley owed their quickening experience; and he had met and expressed in a letter to Whitefield his love for Spangenberg. When the Moravians were violently attacked, and when Whitefield was at variance with them, Cennick was drawn to them and defended them against attack.[3] Once on reading the litany of the wounds of Jesus Christ, Cennick wept for joy. The Moravian's emphasis on Christ's sacrifice was akin to his own. Their emphasis on the person of Christ was similar to Cennick's. Peter Boehler had taught the Wesleys of saving faith that was identified with the assurance of salvation, a viewpoint that was akin to that which Cennick had come to hold.

When Cennick visited the Moravians on the continent he was deeply moved by all their services, and particularly impressed by the vast expanse of their missionary work. Therefore, it seems to this writer, that any influence which the Moravians had on the formation of the doctrinal views of Cennick must

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1. Ante, p. 92.
2. *The Moravian Messenger*, Vol. XLVII, p. 114.
3. *Moravian Missions*, Vol. III-IV, p. 66; Cf., Ante, pp. 90, 91.

have preceded his actual uniting with them. For Cennick united with the Moravians because he found a brotherhood of Christians with doctrinal views and a spirit similar to his own. Here he found a community that was spiritually congenial and doctrinally affinitive, and he united with it. His continuing views and spirit kept in accord with this fellowship.

G. Conclusion.

There were, undoubtedly, other lesser influences that had a part in bringing Cennick to his theological conclusions. However, trends have been indicated that were certainly among the more potent influences in shaping the course of his theological views. Careful consideration of his family background, the childhood experience with the death-bed scene of his mother's aunt, his transforming and releasing spiritual experience, his Biblical knowledge, his associations and controversies with the Wesleys, and to a lesser degree with the Calvinistic Methodists, and his growing acquaintance with the Moravian Brethren, to whom he finally adhered, all of these were important factors in the formation of his doctrinal beliefs.

CHAPTER V

Theological Views of John Cennick

It has already been indicated that John Cennick made his choice of fellowship and membership with the Moravian Church, because he found in that brotherhood both a spirit and a doctrinal view that accorded with that which was now his own. With that in mind it ought to be stated that the Moravian Church made its contribution to Christian living rather than to doctrinal formulation and that John Cennick became a good son of that Church. As a rule it accepted the Scriptures as the standard of faith and practice, counting the Scriptural language, without interpretation, as sufficient for the Christian. Although in practice this latter view may be looked upon rather as an ideal than as an achievement, yet it was very influential in such matters as the interpretation of the Lord's Supper and other doctrines. In this Cennick, too, became a good son of the Church. These two things ought to be kept in mind in discussing Cennick's theological views.

A. Main Theological Emphases.

Cennick was not primarily a theologian, but rather an ardent evangelist, preacher, organizer of religious societies and churches, as well as to some extent a church administrator and overseer. His doctrinal views were the basic belief that had grown out of his Scriptural studies, his spiritual experiences and his doctrinal differences and disagreement with other Christian believers. Consequently there was a disproportionate emphasis on those doctrines that had proved most significant and vital to him. In general his beliefs were those usually associated with the term, evangelical. Doubtless in those areas of his theology that he underemphasized or where he laid but average stress, it would be conceivable on the basis of the evidence to call him evangelical. It is possible to identify clearly his emphases, underemphases, and average stresses doctrinally, and it would be a good introduction to more detailed study to consider these traits of his theology first.

The major emphases in John Cennick's theology are on God the Son, God the Holy Spirit and on the doctrine of salvation, with particular stress within the latter on the atonement and salvation by faith alone. Practically every sermon of his forty published sermons makes reference to these three doctrinal emphases. His Christological doctrine was completely developed and greatly stressed. His emphasis on the Holy Spirit is easily as great as that in the Book of the Acts. His doctrine of the atonement, of saving faith, and the utter inadequacy of any other means of salvation is a persistent theme.

His doctrine of the Scriptures has a normal or average stress for an evangelical believer. His doctrine of God the Father is evangelical but is underemphasized. His doctrine of man is also evangelical and receives average stress. His doctrine of sin receives at least a normal emphasis, particularly in the area of the lack of excellence in human nature and in reference to the natural state of man as depraved and incapable since Adam's fall. His doctrine of the church receives underemphasis. So far as stated it is evangelical, but less than complete. It is likewise true of Cennick's doctrine of the last things. There is no great stress upon it, but in general references in Cennick's sermons point to inevitable destinies as the results of following Christ or failing to follow Him. There are great omissions concerning the particulars that usually enter into a complete eschatological doctrine.

Cennick's own spiritual experience, the emphases of those Christian leaders of his day with whom Cennick couldn't agree, the conditions of his time to which he spoke, his background of training and his Scriptural studies, all contributed to his disproportional emphasis on certain doctrines, underemphasis on others, and normal evangelical stress on others still. A well-rounded expression of his general evangelical position might rightly be before us before we examine in greater detail his particular views.

At the close of a sermon preached in Dublin, where Arian views were rife, Cennick made the following confession of faith:

"I believe that Jesus Christ, who was born in Bethlehem of the Virgin Mary, who suffered under Pontius Pilate without the gates of Jerusalem, is verily, truly and eternally God, the same person all the scriptures mention and speak of, and whom all true believers in all ages have known and worshipped.

I believe that God, the whole Godhead by Him, made heaven and earth, and all the worlds, things visible and invisible; that He made me, body and soul, and saw me from His throne in my sinful state, and loved and pitied me, and in due time was a man for my sake; and by His obedience and meritorious life and death has now fully atoned for all my misdeeds and sins, and made me thereby just in the sight of God, and the whole blessed Trinity.

I believe this Jesus Christ is my God, my Lord, my righteousness, my holiness, my redemption, the only wisdom which can do me good, my Saviour in time and in eternity, and I will hereon venture my body and soul for ever and ever.

I believe also and confess, that though I have been unworthy of His mercy, and no more deserved His favour, yet, out of His free grace, His Holy Spirit has awakened and called me out of my sins, and made me to be concerned about my eternal state, and athirst for mercy and righteousness; that then it pleased the Son of God, my Saviour, to reveal His love in my heart, and to manifest Himself to me, so that now I know I am His and He is mine. He loves me, and I Him; and whether I live or die I am His, who hath both lived and died, and rose and revived, that He might be the Lord both of the dead and of the living.

I believe when I depart out of this world, I shall go to Him in peace, and when my pilgrimage and warfare is ended, I shall find a rest with Him upon His throne; and, without tasting death, His angels shall carry me to His bosom, and I shall enter by the gates into the Paradise of God and follow Him upon Mount Zion with the church of the first-born, and with the spirits of just men made perfect, with whom I shall

sit down in white raiment in the temple of God and go no more out.

I believe that a day shall come when all people shall see the same Jesus that was crucified coming in the clouds; and then every tongue shall confess His divinity and every knee bow before Him, who then shall appear in His Father's glory, with all His saints and angels, and shall Himself judge the world in righteousness, and save whom He will. In that day it shall be out of doubt who the Son of Man is, for heaven and earth shall know He is the only Potentate, the God of gods, and Lord of lords, and all those that would not have Him to reign over them shall flee before Him. Then I believe He will confess me and not be ashamed of me, and on this I depend with all my heart. To Him, with His Father, and my Father, and to the Holy Ghost, one God, blessed for ever, be salvation and praise, henceforth world without end."[1]

B. Doctrine of Knowledge and of the Scriptures.

Cennick believed that the Saviour's doctrines surpass natural conceptions and transcend all human reason and knowledge. He believed that Christ's word decides all controversies for the Christian, and is to be believed though it contradicts the maxims of the philosophers, and opposes the sciences of the schools. He believed that the real disciples of Christ in all ages do not think whether the doctrines of Christ are probable, or if a declaration of Jesus or His promise can be possible, but simply and implicitly believe him in all things, and judge not after the sight of their eyes, or after the hearing of their ears, but follow His Word through thick and thin, through evil report and good report, and venture all they have eternally upon His Word. None of His doctrines are of the world or are calculated to please men. Some of His doctrines point blank oppose the commonly received opinions of men, and are only possible with God: such are

1. Hutton, J. E.: *John Cennick, A Sketch*, pp. 75, 76; Cf., *Village Discourses*, pp. 131, 132.

the doctrines of His divinity, having the whole fulness of the Godhead in Him bodily, His incarnation and being born of a virgin, His miracles in general, His death, His resurrection, His meeting His disciples, and standing personally and bodily among them, when the doors were shut for fear of the Jews, His ascension in a cloud into heaven, and His making Himself known to and dwelling in us.[1]

He speaks disparagingly of those "who will have no other illumination but nature, no light but reason" and assert that they receive no benefit from the gospel, and that Christ the Light of the world is of no service to them. They are only the more blind, and all their wisdom becomes a curse and a snare to them, and their brightest counsels are foolishness.[2] He speaks of the danger of seeking to reconcile men of the world to our religion as long as they are unenlightened from above, and in the course of flesh and blood judge and weigh things according to the rules of common sense and reason alone, and not according to the Scriptures.[3] He asserts that wise men and such as will be governed by philosophical principles will never approve of our way, i.e. the Christian way.[4]

There is rebuke in Cennick for those who measure the Word of God by the rules of human wisdom, or resolve and determine to believe and teach nothing but what they can comprehend, or do nothing without being able to account reasonably for their manner of acting. He bewails the fitness of ministers to preach the Word of God who are determined to be led by their carnal reason, the philosophy of the schools and the wisdom of men. He declares that all the doctrines of Christ are against such wisdom, and teaches that by it the world knew not God. A true minister believes the Word of Christ and teaches it.[5]

Since what Cennick gives us concerning his doctrine of knowledge and its relation to the wisdom of Christ has been declared, it will be valuable to look more closely at his doctrine of the Scriptures. For Cennick the Holy Scriptures are the Words of

1. Ibid., p. 267.
2. Cf., Ibid., p. 273.
3. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*: Discourse #18, p. 4.
4. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #18, p. 5.
5. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #15, p. 7.

God and are to be prized as an inestimable treasure.[1] As has been indicated the language of his sermons is filled with Scripture and all are based on Scriptural texts.

He believed that the Old Testament used similitudes, types and parables, that the truth was not therein declared as plainly as in the New Testament. He believed that the Christian ought not to be content to read the Scriptures of patriarchal times merely as true history. He taught instead that the Holy Spirit intended that all Scripture should preach Jesus Christ to us, though the Old Testament but darkly, till the veil was taken away through Christ's coming.[2]

For Cennick to receive Christ included assenting to the truth and validity of the Scriptures, and accepting Christ as He is offered and preached in the Scriptures as our Lord and God, our only Saviour, our Righteousness, Wisdom, Holines, and Redemption.[3]

The purpose of the writing of the Scriptures was, he believeds that we might believe in Jesus and have eternal life through his name. The Scriptures were written and the Gospel preached, that we might repent and believe and have our sins blotted out.[4]

He asserts that the Saviour honored the Scriptures and taught all his people in future ages to think exceedingly reverently of the Word of God.[5] He declares that the Scriptures are our Saviour's true sayings and may not be trifled with, despised or slighted. They are never alone, for the power of God always accompanies them. To oppose and despise the truths and doctrine declared therein is to put one far from possible conversion.[6]

He believed that whatever appears dark to us in the Scriptures, or hidden, or like a parable in the doctrine of our Saviour will always remain so, unless He by His Holy Spirit discloses its

1. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #15, p. 9.
2. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #15, pp. 3, 4; Discourse #6, p. 4.
3. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #21; pp. 5, 6.
4. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #7, p. 18; Discourse #16, p. 15.
5. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #17, p. 4.
6. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #17, pp. 14, 15; Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 125, 300.

meaning to us.[1] Cennick taught that it is certain that all the parables and histories in the Holy Scriptures are written for our learning and out of every portion of the inspired writings we gather some spiritual food for our souls. However, they must be opened to us by the Sun of righteousness who reveals them to our understanding. He taught that all the writings of the prophets and apostles are sacred and inspired.[2]

Cennick asserts inspiration of the Scriptures but seems not to announce any particular theory of inspiration. He sees the Scriptures as sources of truth and knowledge. He believes that this truth and knowledge would not be othersiwe discoverable. He seemed to have no problems of credibility or authenticity of the Bible records. He uses the Scriptures to prove doctrine.[3] He discovers the Holy Spirit speaking throughout all the Bible. He sees the Holy Spirit intending to give us light through the Scriptures.[4]

Cennick credited implicitly all the Scriptures.[5] He asserted that we have no more effective weapon than the one Christ used, the Scriptures.[6] He wrote that the Scriptures are the spiritual weapon of the ambassadors of the Lord; the key of knowledge for the people. He asserted the veracity of the Scriptures as the true and trustworthy basis for doctrine.[7]

Cennick used allegorical interpretation often in his presentation of Scripture. He was guilty in part of that phase of McConnel's accusation in the latter's pamphlet written against him.[8]

C. Doctrine of God.

Cennick did not emphasize the doctrine of God, but rather took for granted much of the evangelical view. There is little said about the Being of God. His Spiritual Nature seems as-

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1. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #9, p. 6.
2. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #3, p. 5; Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 297, 330.
3. Cf., Ibid., pp. 23, 30.
4. Cf., Ibid., pp. 29, 276.
5. Cf., Ibid., p. 216.
6. Cf., Ibid., p. 220.
7. Cf., Ibid., p. 268.
8. Ante, p. 6; Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 75-82, 170.

sumed, likewise His Personality, though there is assertion of His Person in connection with statements about the Trintiy. Little is said about His Providence and Protection. The Creatorship is ascribed to God in the Person of the Son.

Cennick does assert the unity of the Godhead: the Lord Jehovah, God of the prophets and fathers, maker of heaven and earth, the one God, the holy one of Israel is no other than the same person, who having often appeared to the patriarchs and to the church in the wilderness, as a great king, as an angel, as a cherub, in fire, in a cloud, etc., in these last days appeared in the form of a servant, and was called Jesus Christ.[1]

Certain of the attributes of God are asserted in various places in Cennick's addresses or sermons. For instance He is the mighty God of Jacob, the omnipotent King of saints, the Lord of hell and death.[2] He is a tender Father.[3] He possesses love that transcends and surpasses knowledge; and mankind learned of that love through the fall.[4] He is a God of mercy, of goodness and severity, and He is almighty, can do what he wills in heaven and earth.[5] He is the divine sovereign. He opens the ears to hear the gospel.[6]

In a day when various shades of Socinianism and Arianism were rather widely adhered to, Cennick asserted a Trinitarian doctrine. Here he expressed himself more than in other areas of theology proper. Some of the assertions that he made follow. The whole blessed Trinity were in agreement over the solemn and striking transaction of man's redemption and officiated in the preparation of a victim for the sacrifice that was to obtain this result.[7] One of the clearest statements is,

"Jesus Christ, the God of all the earth, the Lord from heaven,

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1. Cf., Ibid., p. 165.
2. Cf., Ibid., p. 346.
3. Cf., Ibid., p. 347; Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #21, p. 9.
4. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #6, p. 14; Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 347.
5. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #22, pp. 3-23; Discourse #14, p. 3; Discourse #15, p. 6.
6. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #16, p. 12; Discourse #9, p. 4.
7. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 281.

and who is very and essential God, equal to the Father, and his express image and substance, and the same with the Holy Spirit in the blessed Trinity, from everlasting to everlasting Jehovah."[1]

Baptism was ordained on the day of the Saviour's ascension in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.[2] Cennick declared that believers are obedient to the heavenly Father without wanting to define the mystery, or to have it explained to their understanding. They believe Jesus is God from everlasting, and the same with His Father and the Holy Ghost.[3] In another statement Cennick referred to "all blessings God the Father has, all the blessings God the Holy Ghost bestows, and all the blessings God the Son purchased."[4] He told of the love of the blessed Trinity and the free grace and love of the whole Trinity. In speaking of the Trinity he stated "as surely as Jesus is very essentially God, equal to the Father, and the Holy Ghost, in the blessed Trinity,"[5] thus evidencing his conviction of the oneness in being, of the equality and of the distinction in persons of the Trinity.

When Cennick was in the North of Ireland and was challenged by a Mr. Arrat, a Scotch seceder, and a William Moore, one of his people, on February twenty-seventh, 1751, he was questioned about his belief in the Trinity. Here is his record:

"Then Mr. Moore began to ask many questions about my faith in the Trinity; and when I had answered to all, he said his reason for doing this was because in our hymns we called Jesus Christ the only God. I asked, 'Pray, sir, how many Gods are there'. He said 'One'. Then I desired to know if he believed Jesus was God. He said, 'Yes'; and so began upon other questions, and some impertinent enough."[6]

These clear statements answer to the charge of Sabellianism

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1. Ibid., p. 277.
2. Cf., Ibid., p. 204.
3. Cf., Ibid., p. 201.
4. Ibid., p. 168.
5. Ibid., p. 128.
6. *The Messenger*, Vol. XIII, p. 215.

that McConnel had hurled at Cennick and the Moravians in general in his publication of 1746 in Dublin.[1] There is no doubt that Cennick greatly emphasized the Godhead of Jesus, but there is no evidence that by virtue of this he neglected to distinguish the persons of the Trinity.

D. Doctrine of the Person and Nature of Christ.

Cennick placed a paramount emphasis on Jesus Christ, and it is not surprising that he developed a rather complete Christology. In his messages are to be found the Jesus of history and the Christ of experience, but without the modern Christological problem, for to Cennick they are identified in Jesus Christ.[2] None of the Christological heresies are to be found in him.

He taught the incarnation and the virgin birth. He indicated that Christians should believe that Jesus is God from everlasting, and that through His chaste and miraculous conception and birth He became man.[3] Although a man, He is very God, eternally existent, supreme in majesty, and He was incarnated for the purpose of procuring salvation through sufferings, death and resurrection.[4] On one occasion it is reported "Brother Cennick poured out his soul in fervent thanksgiving to the Lord for his becoming a man, and for the blessings we derive thereby."[5] Since for him Jesus was not mere man, he attempts to correct those who hold to any such view in the following:

> "for some have concluded from all this, that our Saviour was a mere man; and either like the Jews, thought he suffered justly; or like Arians, dreamed he died only to show us a good pattern, and was only a martyr for his doctrine."[6]

Cennick greatly emphasized the two natures of Jesus Christ. Repeatedly in his messages he turned to this central emphasis of his theology. The Messiah should be God Almighty and

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1. Ante, pp. 5 & 6.
2. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #16, p. 5.
3. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #8, p. 12; Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 201.
4. Cf., *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #10, pp. 6, 7, also Preface.
5. *Fraternal Record*, Vol. I, p. 32.
6. Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 298.

should become man and die for His people.[1] The person Jesus Christ is the God of all the earth, the Lord from heaven, who is very and essential God, equal to the Father, and His express image and substance.[2] And He is the same with the Holy Spirit from everlasting to everlasting. Yet He is the son of Mary. He is the same One who appeared often all through the time of the prophets and now appears in mean form as a man and a servant.[3]

Cennick taught that in human nature Jesus was weak, and weaker than any man, He being the seed of the woman only. In His flesh He was capable of suffering, being tempted, being grieved, and being liable to all weaknesses and hindrances common to man. He knew the strength of every temptation, and the great weakness of the flesh. As He was the seed of the woman alone, so He had not the strength of a man, but was weak and like a woman in her pangs, poorer and meaner than any one. He was like us in all things, sin only excepted. But he was anointed in the fulness of the Spirit to be the Prophet, King and Priest of His people. Hence He is called Christ, the Messiah, the Lord's anointed.[4]

Christ humbled Himself, becoming a man, and put Himself in the place of Adam to restore fallen mankind, to do God's work, to heal the breach sin had made, to set to rights the ruined creation, and thus to bring salvation. He took the place of Mediator between God and man. The God from everlasting, Creator and Maker of all, bowed the heavens and became incarnate.[5]

In weak flesh and blood like our own, He who was Jehovah, very and true God did suffer, bleed, die and rise again.[6] Of no other person can all that was said of the Messiah be true; but only of that God and Man, Christ Jesus, who was before all

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1. Cf., Ibid., p. 276.
2. Cf., Ibid., p. 277.
3. Cf., Ibid., p. 277.
4. Cf., Ibid., p. 220.
4. Cf., Ibid., p. 269.
5. Cf., Ibid., p. 202.

things, and made heaven and earth with all their hosts.[1]

Expressions of Cennick in various messages concerning the two natures of Jesus Christ include the following:

He is the Lord, the High-Priest over the whole house of God, though he was made man.[2] All the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily in Him. He is verily the Lord and true God.[3] He is our eternal God and Creator, who for our sakes was incarnate and made a man, and is now our Father, husband, and brother, our all in all.[4] He is the Creator of the universe. He is the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Most Holy, the Redeemer, the God of the whole earth. Jesus is no created being, no angel, no inferior deity, but the maker and supporter of all the worlds and creatures, the very essence and express image and person of God. He is more than all the prophets and sons of God.[5] He is deity; in him dwelleth the whole fulness of the Godhead bodily.[6] Yet he is humanity; for us men and for our salvation, he came down from heaven and was made man.[7] He was true man, sinless, Son of Man, offspring of David. He was flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone, became like us in all things, sin only excepted. The great end of our Lord Jehovah's incarnation was that He might be capable of dying for His church, of suffering in our stead, of thus clearing and absolving and justifying us before His throne, reconciling us to His Father and our Father, and making up our breach.[8] So he is both the believer's God and Maker as well as his Saviour.[9]

A rather clear statement on the two natures that one might quote is:

"But then who is Jesus that his coming into the world is of such importance? He is the eternal God! He is that

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1. Cf., Ibid., p. 218.
2. Cf., Ibid., p. 173.
3. Cf., Ibid., p. 174.
4. Cf., Ibid., p. 177.
5. Cf., Ibid., p. 126.
6. Cf., Ibid., p. 127.
7. Cf., Ibid., p. 128.
8. Cf., Ibid., p. 128, 129.
9. Cf., Ibid., p. 130.

Lord, that Creator, and Divine Being, against whom all had sinned, and who out of tender mercy to the world came from his throne and majesty, and was incarnate, a man, a servant, and whose painful life, sorrowful and shameful death, was endured by him with this sole and pure view, to save sinners."[1]

In a hymn of several stanzas the first three also emphasize the same truth:

O God if thou hadst but abhorr'd
  To wear our flesh and blood,
I never had approach'd the Lord,
  But at a distance stood.

A sense of my unworthiness,
  My guilt and just desert,
Had kept me in the worst distress,
  And sunk my hopeless heart.

But since thou hast incarnate been,
  And took the Saviour's place,
Only to save from hell and sin
  The helpless human race.

This hymn is also by Cennick.[2]

Certain attributes of Jesus Christ are set forth by Cennick. He loves with an everlasting love.[3] He is righteous and that righteousness is perfect and complete.[4] He is the eternal Christ, who appeared to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and other Old Testament leaders.[5] His fixed and everlasting love to the world could not be changed or abated.[6] He is a Christ who hears prayer and has the tenderest heart.[7] He is a God of wisdom and knows all the sciences and arts, from everlasting, yet in His preaching a peasant can understand and comprehend as well as the most learned philosopher.[8] He is a compassionate High Priest.[9]

1. Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #22, pp. 7, 8.
2. Ibid., Discourse #22, p. 23.
3. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 331.
4. Cf., Ibid., p. 280.
5. Cf., Ibid., p. 125.
6. Cf., Ibid., p. 106; *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #1, p. 4.
7. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #8, p. 16.
8. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #9, p. 7.
9. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #10, p. 19.

Jesus Christ holds a mediatorial office and will retain it till he has subdued all things unto Himself.[1] He is therefore accessible to believers.

He is the Lord of all in heaven and earth and hell, and can free whom He will.[2] He is Lord of all whether living or dead, as well as the sole supremacy in heaven, earth, hell, and over all flesh and every spirit in worlds visible and invisible.[3]

All of these factors that make up the completeness of Cennick's doctrine of the person and nature of Christ are declared not once but continually in practically every message. This is a dominant trait of his theological views.

E. Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Cennick wrote a treatise on the Holy Spirit that was published in 1742. He was then a man of twenty-three years of age. In it he collates the Scriptures on the subject of the Holy Spirit, collects the testimonies of the former saints, Fathers, martyrs and assembles also the doctrines and prayers of the church on the subject. After an extended examination in which he demonstrates a fair knowledge of the history of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit throughout the history of the Christian Church, and an acquaintance with the creeds, he proceeds to show that all believers possess the Spirit of God, and that prophets, saints and apostles wrote by the Spirit's inspiration. He contends there can be no salvation without the Holy Spirit nor any uprightness found except where the Spirit reigns.

Then he outlines what he calls the office and work of the Spirit of God in His children and indicates four things, chiefly: (1) The Holy Spirit enlightens and shows the necessity for Christ's righteousness in the individual Christian; (2) He purges and saves by His sanctification the whole church; (3) He governs and leads people by His secret workings; and (4) He witnesses to the children of God whereby they know they are born of Him and assured of eternal life.[4]

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1. *Village Discourses*, p. 184.
2. Cf., Ibid., p. 272.
3. Cf., Ibid., p. 107.
4. Cf., Cennick, John: *A Treatise of the Holy Ghost.*

It is not easy to classify all the things Cennick has to say about the Holy Spirit in his sermons. As indicated there is constant reference to the Holy Spirit throughout all his messages from the beginning to the end of his ministry. That he held a believer could feel the presence of the Holy Spirit is evident from references in his diary to such a feeling at different times in his meetings. One typical instance is his description of what took place at Mr. Hopp's barn, apparently at Gloonen in the North of Ireland. Concerning this experience he said, "There was certainly an extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit and presence of our Saviour."[1]

There is very little that could be counted a direct assertion of the Deity of the Holy Spirit. However, in Cennick's rereferences to the Trinity he sets forth the equality of the three persons of the Godhead. There is nothing about the procession of the Holy Spirit in so many words, but Cennick points out that the Spirit was present in the world, prior to Pentecost, in prophets and patriarchs, and without measure in Jesus Christ. Then he declares that Jesus Christ sent the Holy Spirit into the world, or at least that the Holy Spirit awaited Jesus' return to Heaven before He came in fullness. Cennick ascribes all the qualities to Him that are usually limited to persons, thus implying His personality.

Having thus related Cennick's views on the Spirit to the usual orthodox statements about pneumatology, now look at some of the things that Cennick states about the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit, like the Holy Scriptures, shall guide the disciple.[2] He shall lead him into all truth. He shall open his eyes to let him see his sins, and unstop his ears to permit him to hear the voice of God. Prophets and patriarchs were led by the Holy Spirit before Christ's birth.[3] He opens the law and shows how it is just and good.[4] In all these ways He leads and guides His people.

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1. *The Messenger*, Vol. XIII, pp. 218, 219.
2. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #6, p. 19.
3. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #15, pp. 16, 17.
4. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 105.

The Holy Spirit is the Comforter.[1] He comforts the soul coming to the cross and lets him know the Kingdom of heaven is his.[2] He leads and comforts as a mother comforteth her only son.[3] The promised Comforter assures the believer's heart that all his sins are pardoned forever.[4]

The Holy Spirit, according to Cennick, convinces of sin and leads to salvation.[5] He bids the soul oppressed, overloaded and bound down with cares to look to the Lamb of God. He awakens one to see the soul's estate.[6] He seeks and wins back souls straying from Him. Through Him partly enlightened souls, sought by Jesus, are shown what a loving Father they have.[7] The Holy Spirit is the chief minister in gathering the flock. He draws and selects people out of all lands. He gives them ears to hear His words. He makes them willing people in the day of power. He leads them obediently to follow the Lamb. He manifests and reveals Christ and His love to them. He sets His mark upon believers' foreheads and seals them to the day of redemption. He directs people to enter in by Jesus and be saved. He inspires with life eternal. He changes our nature.[8] He awakens a soul and shows it the righteousness of Jesus.[9] He convinces of unbelief.[10] He awakens from sin.[11] Men learn from the Holy Spirit how ruined, helpless and spoiled they are by nature.[12] It is the Holy Spirit that applies the blood of new covenant.[13] He awakens those that sleep through the preaching of the Gospel. He directs to the crucified Saviour.[14]

The Holy Spirit abides in the hearts of believers as in a clean temple. He is given to all believers. True believers are partakers

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1. Cf., Ibid., p. 19.
2. Cf., Ibid., pp. 234, 235.
3. Cf., *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #8, p. 14.
4. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #7, p. 19.
5. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #19, p. 9.
6. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #10, p. 12.
7. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #11, pp. 13, 18.
8. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #5, pp. 8, 13.
9. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 19, 20.
10. Cf., Ibid., p. 33.
11. Cf., Ibid., p. 137.
12. Cf., Ibid., p. 72.
13. Cf., Ibid., p. 283.
14. Cf., Ibid., pp. 296, 299.

of Him in their hearts.[1] He abides with His disciples forever.[2] Our bodies are His temple and abiding place.[3] All children of God have the Spirit of God in measure.[4]

Cennick indicated again and again that the Holy Spirit inspires. He inspired John the Baptist. He descended on Jesus as a dove. He sheds abroad the love of God in the hearts of believers. By His inspiration the work of grace is effected.[5] He causes the believer to overcome by the blood of the Lamb. He is the inspirer of Scripture.[6]

The Holy Spirit was not given to all flesh until Jesus' return to Heaven. However, He had been given to the Apostles when Jesus breathed on them. He had been promised by the prophets and promised by the Apostles to believers.[7]

Cennick taught that the Holy Spirit continues to set forth the Son as the Lamb, whose death abolished sin, and urges the sinner to look to Him and be saved. The Spirit illumines the mind that was asleep and the foolish heart that was darkened. All of us learn what we know of Christ through the teaching of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit speaks the words of reconciliation. He manifests the Son and leads to all the means of grace.[8] It is the Holy Spirit that justifies and sanctifies. He gives faith in the heart, for that is His work. He shows the way to escape from disaster. He leads the sinner to behold the Lamb of God.[9]

The Holy Spirit, according to Cennick, is the Lord and Giver of life. The essentials of Christianity without the Holy Spirit are like a body without a soul. He brings glad news of salvation and life. It is only through the Spirit that we become heirs to

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1. Cf., *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #12, pp. 7, 10, 19.
2. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #15, p. 16.
3. Cf., *Village Discourses*, p. 19.
4. Cf., Ibid., pp. 20, 268.
5. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #20, p. 4; Discourse #18, p. 14; Discourse #11, p. 6.
6. Cf., *Village Discourses*, pp. 20, 179.
7. Cf., Ibid., pp. 12, 13, 15.
8. Cf., *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #20, p. 5; Discourse #11, p. 15; Discourse #12, p. 16; Discourse #22, p. 8; Discourse #22, p. 18.
9. Cf., *Village Discourses*, pp. 19, 27, 167, 201.

glory, or believe to eternal life. He quickens those who come to Jesus and believe in Him. He awakens from the grave and from beds of carnal security and points to Christ that the one so directed may have life.[1] The believer is made alive by the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Spirit. Faith is a work of the Holy Spirit. In the early church the baptism of the Holy Spirit was often accompanied by the laying on of hands.[2]

John Cennick believed that the Holy Spirit was the source of power for the Christian life. He taught that our gospel shall not come in words only but in power, in the Holy Spirit, in much assurance, in faith unfeigned. Christians without power have not yet received the Holy Spirit, nor do they know that Christ in His Spirit liveth in them.[3] The believer is to be baptized with the Spirit and with fire.[4] The power of the Spirit was sent forth in fulness on Christ during the whole of His earthly life.[5]

According to Cennick the Holy Spirit has a function of witnessing. He bears witness with our spirits that we are children of God. He glorifies the Living Saviour. He witnesses through the Scriptures. He witnesses to us that we have been forgiven. He blesses the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ with the witness of the Spirit in the hearts of men.[6] He illuminates the Scriptures. He witnesses to grace and salvation. He speaks in the Scriptures. He strives with the rebellious. He convinces the sinful and shows the self-righteous that their righteousness is not perfect. He seals the believer.[7]

Cennick taught that men must be born again of the Holy Spirit.[8] He relates that God resolved to make all things new, and to give especially to such as believe in Him a new birth, which should be effected by the Holy Spirit. Thus believers become

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1. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #15, pp. 15, 16, 17.
2. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 199, 209, 210.
3. Cf., *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #15, pp. 9, 14.
4. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #8, p. 15.
5. Cf., *Village Discourses*, p. 268.
6. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #15, p. 19; Discourse #21, p. 57; Discourse #18, p. 17; Discourse #10, p. 6.
7. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 19, 124, 107, 182, 331, 332, 334.
8. Cf., *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #11, p. 14.

children of grace and receive the Spirit of adoption. Without the work of the Holy Spirit there is no being born again. But re-birth is essential to belonging to Christ, and Christians are they that are born again of the Holy Spirit.[1]

The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of truth. He cannot lie and His convincing testimony in the heart is more solid and sure than if all heaven was opened and every angel assured the believer of his part in Christ. He enables the believer to see himself thoroughly.[2] He convinces of Christ's righteousness. It is His intention to give His followers light. He can be quenched.[3]

Cennick believed that the Holy Spirit was given to them that asked for Him, and that He was bestowed by God. He insisted that the gift of the Holy Spirit was received freely by all who believe in His name. God took away the unclean spirit of those that turned to Him and put His Holy Spirit within them. God will give the Spirit to all those that ask for Him, and He is granted to the hearts of all who obtain faith.[4] God will give this hidden manna to those seeking it. The souls and bodies of believers are hallowed by the Holy Spirit's indwelling.[5]

The Holy Spirit teaches wisdom, not the wisdom of the world, but that which gives eternal life. He sent the prophets and scribes to instruct.[6] He uses Christ's doctrines and prophecies alone. He confirms the faith and gives certainty of truth. He gives to the faithful assurance and certainty.[7]

Cennick taught the equality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son. Jesus said "I will send the Comforter." He also said "The Father will send the Comforter in my Name."[8] He taught that the office of the Holy Spirit is threefold: to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. He speaks

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1. Cf., *Village Discourses*, pp. 24, 25, 16, 187.
2. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #12, p. 14.
3. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 108, 276, 331.
4. Cf., *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #15, p. 17; Discourse #16, p. 7; Discourse #13, p. 11; Discourse #21, p. 9; Discourse #5, p. 10.
5. Cf., *Village Discourses*, pp. 170, 238.
6. Cf., *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #16, p. 4; Discourse #11, p. 5.
7. Cf., *Village Discourses*, pp. 177, 343.
8. Cf., Ibid., p. 12.

through the Bible.[1]

The Spirit was portrayed as person and was constantly referred to in the third person masculine singular. He loves even as Jesus loves and is one with the Saviour in salvation. He strives with souls till He has prevailed and brought them to Jesus.[2] Jesus said of the Spirit that He would speak of Christ and glorify Him.[3]

If, in discussing Cennick's pneumatology, it is desired to accept the older arrangement, attention may here be called to the fact that Cennick believed in angels, and in Satan, and spoke familiarly concerning each.[4]

It has been demonstrated that Cennick's doctrine of the Holy Spirit was complete. The presence of the Spirit was a constant reality. One marvels that in the hey-day of the Wesleyan emphasis on the coming of the Spirit as a second work of grace, Cennick taught the now more generally accepted view that the Spirit comes to every true believer at conversion. It is also interesting that when that same Wesleyan movement urged the work of the Spirit as primarily for sanctification, here, too, Cennick held to the present day evangelical view that the Spirit is given, usually, as endowment for service.

F. Doctrine of Man and of Sin.

It seems suited to the doctrinal position of Cennick on man and sin to include both of them together as is often done in theological texts. In general Cennick taught an evangelical view tending more to Calvinism than Arminianism in this area of his thought, but certainly not completely agreeing with the extreme Calvinistic position. He seems to believe man was created in the beginning in the likeness of God and in innocence, but that the likeness and image was lost and forfeited in Adam's fall. He offers no view, that his messages disclose, on the origin of the soul, neither that of the pre-existencist, the creationist nor the

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1. Cf., Ibid., pp. 12, 6, 29.
2. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #15, p. 17; Discourse #11, pp. 14, 15.
4. Cf., *Village Discourses*, p. 12.
3. Cf., Ibid., pp. 300, 331, 333.

traducianist. He views man as body, soul and spirit. He teaches much on the fall of the first man and the effects of that fall on all mankind. He proclaims man's nature as sinful and depraved because of the original fall. He sees the roots of religion not in man but through God's visitation with the gift of faith through the Holy Spirit. He is not crystal clear in following any settled view in the matter of election. He declares views that sound like supralapsarianism; he indicates belief in election to salvation, but strongly opposes the view of election to damnation. With his view of election there seems also to be universal salvation taught, that would be akin to the Arminian view of conditional election. The apparent contradiction is resolved for Cennick, it would seem, by the fact that since Christ's crucifixion there has been provision for all man-kind and the fact that God wills the salvation of all, but man may refuse the divine offer. If this seems inconsistent with his view of faith as God's gift, Cennick seems to teach that faith is a gift of God, which like salvation, can be refused or accepted by man.[1] Free will and responsibility seem to be taught also. Likewise in his ideas of the security or perseverance of the saints, he seems to teach both the possibility of falling, and the faithfulness of Christ who will not permit the believer to be plucked out of His hands.

His idea of the trichotomic nature of man comes out in the following statement: "so is the blood of Jesus conveyed to a believer, which continues to operate through body, soul and spirit, till all the old nature is purged away."[2]

There are a large number of statements from Cennick concerning the fall of Adam and its effects. Possibly as useful and clear a statement as he has made is that in his seromon on "The New Birth":

> "Our fall in Adam, and the corrupt and wicked nature we bring with us into the world, has made a regeneration absolutely necessary; and though I know how many strive to oppose the doctrine of original, or the first sin, yet I so treat

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1. Post, pp. 179, 180.
2. Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #11, p. 14.

all arguments, and those things said directly against the words of Scripture, just as St. Paul calls it, 'The wisdom of men, and what is foolishmess with God'. All the law and gospel agree, 'that in Adam all died'. All have sinned and come short of the glory of God. Thou art called a transgressor from the womb. The thoughts of a man's heart are evil from his youth. 'I was born in sin, and in sin did my mother conceive me. All are gone out of the way, there is none good, no not one.' These are some of the many scriptures which prove the general and universal fall and decay, and which is the reason why we must be born again."[1]

On another occasion he set forth similar teachings in the following:

"When our father Adam had his power and righteousness in his own hands in paradise, as he journeyed there, the Devil and his angels, those thieves, watched for him, and stripped him of his righteousness, and not him only, but all his wretched race, and bound him with unbelief, wounded him with lust, pride, covetousness, wrath, disobedience &c., and having cast him out of the way of peace, and put him in a perishing condition, left him half dead, i.e., dead in soul, and dying in his body, without power to turn to God, or help himself, or rise to seek for mercy, but indeed helpless and miserable. In this said condition he could not have promised God, this I will do, or that I will do, if thou wilt help me: he could do nothing, but feeling the smart and pain of sin, and a wounded conscience, sigh away his three-score and ten years, and then perish forever in hell."[2]

Here, too, he indicates the Calvinistic idea of utter human inability following the fall, along with the account of the fall and the subsequent sinfulness of the race.

In other places he shows that by virtue of the fall, men by nature cannot understand the things of God, and shall never be otherwise except through the immediate work of the Almighty

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1. Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 23.
2. Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #3, p. 9.

God.[1] Because of the fall it is impossible to be made righteous by any law.[2] Jesus, our Shepherd, saw from eternity Satan's work in leading astray Adam and his wretched posterity and it lay upon His heart.[3] Ever since the fall of Adam man has been so foolish as to leave his Father's house and go out and spend his portion of grace in riotous and careless living in the world.[4] All have been so ruined and spoiled by the fall and have so lost their first "make and nature," that none properly should be called sheep but such as are restored and washed again, and healed by the Shepherd of Israel.[5] In the preface to his volume of sermons, titled *Seventeen Discourses*, Cennick indicates that his messages are about certain subjects that include "the doctrines of our Fall, our spoiled and wicked nature." It was when we had lost and forfeited His nature and image, that Jesus humbled Himself and appeared in our nature and image.[6] Cennick points out that after Adam and Eve's sin, fear and shame were immediate effects of their sin. The Holy Spirit also departed, and a curse came upon all the world and upon every creature, which previously God had put in subjection to Adam. Satan usurped the throne of man, and was god of this world from thenceforth, leading all captive at his will, calling every child of Adam his home-born slave, and triumphing in the destruction of the six days' labour of Jehovah. Thus fell the first man, Adam, who was of the earth, and thus fell all mankind with him. They became a prey to the dragon, the serpent, that deceived and enslaved the whole world.[7]

In Adam all died and forfeited God's image, and sank as slaves into the hands of the enemy[8] By one man's sin, judgment to

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1. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #15, p. 6.
2. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #11, p. 6.
3. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #11, p. 10.
4. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #11, p. 16.
5. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #11, pp. 7, 8.
6 Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 128.
7. Cf., Ibid., p. 179.
8. Cf., Ibid., p. 219.

condemnation occurred and death reigned over all.[1] The first man lost the beauty and image of God, the last had His face marred more than any man's, and His form more than the sons of men.[2]

Closely related to and often overlapping his discussions of the fall of Adam and its effects, is what he taught about depravity and original sin. He declares that in our first estate by nature we are children of wrath, giddy and careless and led captive by the Devil at his will.[3] Just so carnal men, who hear the doctrine of original sin, and how all are dead in Adam and left powerless and unable to do anything to the attaining of salvation, mock and jeer the preachers who call such to come to Christ.[4] Yet in salvation our soul must be translated out of the kingdom of Satan into the Kingdom of God's dear Son.[5] The natural man, which the New Testament refers to as the old man, is one of lust, of impure inclination, of wishes and desires which, however natural, are not comely in God's sight.[6] The natural man becomes conscious of being a sinner, poor, lost, helpless, and dead, and with no right to venture to the Saviour.[7] The knowledge of great need of mercy has brought many thousands to the kingdom of heaven. A sense of their poor lost estate, their corrupt and spoiled heart, their degenerate nature, the guilt of sin, and of a misspent life, the fear of death, the dreadful looking for judgment, the restless condition and uneasy estate of soul, makes them long with insatiable longing for mercy.[8]

Cennick describes the purpose of the law to reveal that man is a sinner and to make all the world guilty before God.[9] The law couldn't go deep enough, for it did not wash the inner man of the heart, it did not cleanse the spoiled and bad nature.[10]

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1. Cf., Ibid., p. 183.
2. Cf., Ibid., p. 182.
3. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #13, p. 17.
4. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #15, p. 8.
5. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #13, p. 18.
6. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #18, pp. 10, 11.
7. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #15, p. 19.
8. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #10, p. 7.
9. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #11, pp. 4, 5.
10. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #11, p. 6.

He gives a vivid picture of the distressed and lost estate of man in describing the Gadarene demoniac and likening man to him:

> "This is the description of his sad estate, and how nicely does it agree with the spiritual sad estate of a natural man? He wears no cloaths (sic) before God, but, as long as he is not all glorious within, nor covered with the covering of God's Spirit, he is naked; all his sins and secret uncleannesses, all his falls and corrupted nature is open and naked before the Lord and all the angels, and except Jesus and his righteousness cover his sin and hide his iniquity, he will find himself in a shameful state, when God's eyes of fire try the secrets of all hearts. May I not also say, he has an unclean spirit? Does not his impurities and lusts rule him? Are not his eyes full of adultery, his lips full of unclean songs and jests? His hands and heart are they not unclean? And may it not be said with all propriety, he has been possessed of devils a long time? For ever since the fall, Satan has had us all, as it were, in his hands and in his possession.[1]

He further states that our condition is as if the Lord said to us, "Ye are sinners, poor perishing and undone sinners, but I have prepared a salvation for you, a remedy as great as the disease."[2]

He describes the nature of man as fallen, miserable and corrupt. It is a spoiled nature.[3] When man came into the world, according to Cennick, he was born in sin, corrupt and abominable. The issue or fountain of sin was opened in his heart and began running when man began breathing.[4] Cennick likens sin to leprosy, which broke out first in Adam in one sin like the scab of the leprosy, and not being stopped, it increased till mankind was altogether corrupt and infected.[5] Thus none are pure in heart by nature; for, by nature, all our hearts are corrupted and desperately wicked. Natural man is incapable of understanding

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1. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #13, pp. 7, 8.
2. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #8, p. 14.
3. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #9, p. 14.
4. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #4, p. 8.
5. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #2, p. 8.

the Saviour and of seeing his salvation.[1] Every man by nature lies in death, and is not sensible of it till wakened by the voice of the Son of Man. Human vileness, inability and lost estate represent man's condition without Christ.[2] Finally, Cennick asserts that one who denies the doctrine of original sin must be wicked and a hypocrite; wicked, because he denies the tenor of all the scriptures; a hypocrite, because he knows lust, pride, anger and covetousness, and because he knows that many other sinful dispositions are in his nature and have grown up with him.[3]

In regard to the doctrine of election he refers to those who have made profession of Christ's name, but were foolish and slept in an insecure state without their election insured.[4] In a sermon on the sower he describes the significance of Jesus' message to the disciples in this fashion:

> "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom, but to others it is not given, Matt. XIII, 11. This went so far, that it should have seemed as if He only preached to the elect of Israel, and spoke therefore in such a manner as if none should understand him but those whom his Father drew to him and enlightened. This appears more likely when we find our Saviour so charge his disciples, not to go to the Gentiles, nor enter the villages even of the Samaritans, though they were of the family of Abraham. This made so many expressions of our Saviour seem as if he only had regard to such as the Father had given him before all worlds, and endeavour, as it were, to hide the gospel from the rest; and on a too hasty conclusion of this sort many have been rash, and maintained very hot and lamentable disputes about election, of which, no doubt, they will one day be ashamed, having not understood the mystery of God, how he secretly purposed not only to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to re-

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1. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 238, 272.
2. Cf., Ibid., pp. 296, 341.
3. Cf., Ibid., p. 184.
4. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #16, p. 8.

store the preserved of Israel, but to give our Saviour for a light to the gentiles, and his salvation to the ends of the earth, Isa. XLIX, 6. However, so much must be allowed, that our Saviour's discourse at Nazareth, his charge to his disciples, his saying, No man cometh to me except my Father draw him, as well as his last prayer in the XVIIth of St. John's Gospel, prove his peculiar care of those who came to him out of Israel; but then He adds, when I am lifted up then I will draw all men after me, I can quicken whom I will; and accordingly we see how he commands the same disciples, whom he had before forbid to go to the Samaritans or Gentiles, now, to preach the Gospel to every creature, and promises, I will stand by you, I will be with you to the end of the world."[1]

This seems to suggest that from God's side the election is of a universal nature, since the crucifixion of the Christ. In the expression about "those whom the Father had given him before all the worlds" there is a hint of supralapsarianism. Other statements seem to teach this more clearly. For instance:

"This satisfied our blessed Surety, and the covenant was made of 'God in Christ before the foundation of the world', when as yet no mountain or hill was formed, and the present multitude of men and other creatures were not created, but only 'He who calls things that are not as though they were', knew how he would make man, and foresaw the fall by means of the subtlety of the enemy, and resolved to save them; thus from the beginning of the world he was the Lamb slain, and our Saviour."[2]

In his sermon on "The Fall and Redemption" he again speaks on the same subject in these words:

"Doubtless God Almighty foresaw all this that happened before ever he laid the foundation of the earth, or said, 'Let there be light'; but then he would not alter his design, but

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1. Ibid., Discourse #9, p. 5.
2. Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 107.

went on with his creation, resolved to take the opportunity of the fall to make known to heaven and earth and hell his everlasting love; an infinite value for the children of men, and decreed from everlasting to be their Saviour."[1]

Though Cennick seems to accept the idea of election to salvation it is otherwise with the doctrine of reprobation. About the clearest statement concerning both the doctrine of election and of reprobation, that Cennick provides in his writings, is that made in his controversy with Mr. Arrat and William Moore at Moira in the North of Ireland.

"He (i.e. Mr. Arrat) asked further if I had anything to object against the Westminster Confession and Catechism. I said, 'I don't believe the doctrine of absolute reprobation; else in general I look upon the Westminster Confession as orthodox'. But he could not let this pass. He said, 'Now I will show you that Mr. Cennick is in great errors;' and turning to me, he said, 'Sir, pray, don't you believe that God foresees everything?' I said, 'Yes, undoubtedly'. 'But', said he, 'that is the same as foreordaining.' I answered, "No; for instance, I may foresee a person rushing into a pit or down a precipice, and have no hand in it or be the cause of it.' He thought it very ill that I should compare myself with God. To which I answered, 'In many things we may do so, because God has compared His dealings with ours, that His justice and righteousness may appear'. But neither could this satisfy him, but he began a discourse showing how erroneous these opinions were; and when he had gone on some time I interrupted, and said, 'Mr. Arrat, we did not come hither to hear you preach; but answer me a few questions as honestly as I have answered you, and then say as much as you please. Pray, tell me if you believe absolute, unconditional reprobation?' He waived answering direct, and harangued how God left man to fall, etc. I said again, 'Sir, I have answered to all your questions simply and readily, and now you evade answering me one question positively. If you won't answer,

1. Ibid., p. 179.

I shall take my hat and bid you good-night. Do you believe absolute reprobation?' He said, 'Yes'. 'Do you believe that God foreordained whatever He foresaw?' He said, 'Yes'. 'Do you believe He foresaw the adulteries of the adulterer?' 'Yes'. 'Did God ordain it?' 'Yes'. 'And do you believe He foresaw the murders of the murderer?' 'Yes'. 'Did He ordain it?' 'Yes'.

Then I turned to his people and said, 'You see what a minister you have. I abhor and tread under my feet, as cursed and wicked such blasphemies;' and indeed almost all were shocked at his words; and though all had been desired to be silent but we two on both sides, yet a zealous Quaker, one James Greer, spoke out and said, 'What! dost thou not believe God's free grace for all mankind? If thou dost not believe free grace for all, thou art damned, friend.' But we did not end here. He would know if I believed election. I said, 'Yes; but I cannot believe reprobation, for then I must doubt the sincerity of God and the Scriptures, since in Ezekiel God swears He would not the death of a sinner, but had rather he would repent and live; and our Saviour wept over Jerusalem, saying, 'How often would I have gathered My children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!' He said, 'It is impossible to hold election and not reprobation.' I said, 'I believe one and deny the other. I believe the word of God, and what does not appear reconcilable with my judgment, I know nevertheless is possible with God and clear as the light. You for the sake of the darling principle of reprobation must either entirely leave out or wrest a good part of the Scriptures; while I, out of conscience and a religous submission to God's Word, implicitly believe all.' "[1]

Another brief statement about his idea of free will he set forth in his discussion of the parable of the Prodigal: "The departure of the Son at first of his own choice sets forth our free will, which is to wander perpetually, and teaches, that our fall

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1. *The Messenger*, Vol. XIII, pp. 216, 217.

was of ourselves.[1]

In regard to eternal security or the perseverance of the saints, Cennick taught that the believer could well put his complete trust in Christ for security, and not be afraid. In his sermon on "The Marriage of Isaac" he makes this statement on the subject:

> "When you reflect, I am afraid Satan will rob me of all again, or come upon me, like a roaring lion, and devour me, then know, Jesus has commanded his angels to encamp round about thee. As when Jacob went out, God's hosts were out with him, so it shall be with thee; the angels shall wait upon thee, and keep off every danger, till they have landed thee above, with songs of everlasting joy. The archangel, the angel of the covenant, Christ Jesus, goes before thee. He shall not leave thee nor forsake thee in this howling wilderness: He will bear thee up; be of good comfort; only come, and all shall be well."[2]

However, he taught that there was danger of losing the joy and happiness of salvation and that vigilance on the part of the believer was required.[3] He told the story of the readmission of the evil spirit previously cast out, and how it brought others with it more wicked than itself, and they entered in when love grew cold.[4] He declared that no condition of mankind was therefore safe or secure, but the estate of the children of God. It was above all things necessary that a sincere person make his calling and election sure.[5] When completely trusting Jesus, you were set above the reach of men or devils, and neither this world, nor the world to come, nor life nor death nor any power, would ever be able to pluck you out of His hands or separate you from His love.[6] He urged his hearers to fly to the wounded Lamb of God, to take refuge under his shadow, and to be safe in time,

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1. Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #11, p. 16.
2. Ibid., Discourse #6, p. 19.
3. Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 346.
4. Cf., *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourses #13, p. 10.
5. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #21, p. 15.
6. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #14, p. 10.

in eternity, in the hour of death and in the day of judgment.[1] The man will be blessed who takes the Lord's warning and escapes to Jesus. Thus that man may live forever in safety; and, when he dies, he may depart in peace and stand in the judgment boldly. He may be indeed like a dove who has fled to the clefts of the rock, and is saved.[2]

These paragraphs set forth the chief tenets in John Cennick's doctrine of man and of sin. The tendency to adopt a scriptural view, even when that seems to be a less logical view than that advocated by others, is present not only tacitly but explicitly, as indicated in the interview with Mr. Arrat and William Moore. Consequently he is less rigid in his views than either extreme Calvinists or extreme Arminians.

G. Doctrine of Salvation.

It has already been mentioned that the doctrine of salvation is one of the major emphases of Cennick's theology. Within that doctrine his paramount emphasis is on the procuring of redemption through the sufferings and death of Jesus. Almost every discourse has some measure of explanation of the atonement, and, although there is no specific theory of the atonement the ideas of ransom, of substitution, of satisfaction, and of necessity are prominent. There is nothing that resembles the moral influence theory of Abelard, nor akin to the legal or governmental theory of Grotius. Neither is there anything of the ransom-to-Satan theory of Gregory of Nyssa. However, the satisfaction theory of Anselm and the emphasis on substitution, sometimes strong in Luther, as well as in certain groups today, are both found in Cennick's messages. If his atonement ideas need to be classified, they might be called Anselmic.

Closely following in prominence the emphasis on the atonement is that of justification, not by works, but by faith alone. The nature of saving faith itself is an interesting phase of Cennick's soteriology. He is not a synergist, as will be plain from his conception of the nature of saving faith. He believes it is all of God. Yet with the usual inconsistency of other preachers

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1. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #14, p. 17.
2. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #14, p. 20.

and theologians he urges saving faith upon his hearers. His inconsistency may be of logic, it is not in his understanding of the Bible. Repentance isn't given great prominence; it seems to be a concomitant of saving faith. Sanctification is of the Holy Spirit and is a fruit of saving faith. The assurance of salvation is so definitely a part of saving faith as to be almost identical with it.

Looking more closely at Cennick's ideas of the atonement, it will be helpful to read his own words on it.

> "He that was and is the immortal and unchangeable, appears in the form of sinful flesh, lower than the Father, lower than the angels, lower than any man, the very scorn of men and the outcast of the people. And wherefore has he so humbled himself? Why has he so appeared? For the suffering of death. When sin abounded and reigned in the world over all flesh, and none in heaven or earth, or under the earth could help or deliver man out of his cursed and perishing condition, or make a sacrifice for sin or offer up an atonement and make reconciliation, he that sat upon the throne said, 'Lo! I come;' in the body of his flesh, he said, 'I will do thy will, O my God'! 'I will lay down my life and die, and be offered up as a lamb for my sinful people, and so will end all mischief, and make peace;' hence he is called 'The Lamb slain from the foundations of the world; and hence properly he merits that title 'The Lamb of God' "[1]

In another picture of the significance of the atonement he shows Jesus' satisfaction in it.

> "Jesus was satisfied. Before ever he became a servant, and began his sorrowing and hard life in the world, he knew what should be the wages of his service. The Father had shown him beforehand of the travail of his soul, and he was satisfied. God, even his own God had, as it were, said to him, My Son, thou seest how Satan has prevailed over all flesh, and has spoiled thy handywork; if thou, out of true love,

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1. Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 277.

wilt go down and redeem them, 'I will make them a willing people, I will draw them to thee. Thou shalt have children born to thee, like the dew of the womb of the morning; as numerous as the drops of rain that water the earth, so shall thy seed be:' yea, if thou wilt bear their sin and curse, and die in their stead, be numbered with transgressors, and taste death for every man, and pour out your own soul to death in their behalf, then 'will I divide thee a portion with the strong', I will give thee a great company which no man can number: 'the heathen shall be thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth thy possession.' "[1]

The atonement is described as a perfect atonement for all sins. Christ is set forth as our passover-lamb. As Saviour He willingly paid the sinner's debt, suffering his curse. Christ made Himself a free-will offering in the sinner's stead.[2] The divine purpose in sending Christ into the world in human flesh culminated in the atonement:

"When he (i.e. Jesus) appeared in the world, it was in the person of Adam, as one who undertook to set the whole ruined state of mankind to rights, and take upon himself the blame, curse, and punishement of all, and redeem and save his people with justice and equity, and carry away whatever evil came in by the first man."[3]

In setting forth the story of the ram provided in lieu of the sacrifice of Isaac when Abraham was tried on the mount, Cennick writes:

"By this the Holy Ghost sets forth our state: the altar was prepared as it were; our sins were like fuel ready to have burned us up, and would have brought on the wrath of God like a river of flaming brimstone to kindle it; the sword was lifted and held out, we sinners, bound down by Satan with the chains of our own sins, when Jesus ,like a lamb caught in the thicket, cried, Forgive them, my Father, and unbound and forgave us, stretched out his hands upon the altar, and

1. Ibid., p. 228.
2. Cf., Ibid., p. 106.
3. Ibid., p. 180.

was fastened thereon with nails, when the sword awaked upon him, and he expired loaded with our sins, and in our stead died, so making an atonement."[1]

Christ has made His world His own again. His world which was lost to Him in Adam's fall is now restored. It was for us and in our stead that He did it.

"Christ has died and suffered in our stead. He has borne our curse, he has endured our shame, sustained our hell and punishment and imputes our faith in him for righteousness, or makes over and reckons his obedience, works, duties, sufferings and dying to us; and as he stood like a sinner, and was numbered with transgressors before God, and was bruised for the sin he never committed, so we stand perfect and complete in him, being clothed in his righteousness, which is imputed to us, though we did not deserve it, but were unworthy of any thing better than hell, and to be lost for ever."[2]

The great purpose of our Lord Jehovah's incarnation was that he might be capable of dying for his church and suffering in the place of the sinner thereby clearing, absolving and justifying the sinner before his throne, reconciling him to the Father, and thus making up for the sinner's insufficiency.[3] The sinner does not really taste the wrath of God nor the punishment, for the Lamb of God took that on himself.[4]

It would be possible to continue, for many pages, giving different expressions of Cennick's descriptive portrayal of the atonement, its purpose and significance. Possibly one more from his sermon on "The Syrophenician" may be given as a clear expression of his idea.

"He is Almighty God, who has left all in Heaven, and in the bosom of his Father, and came down with no other view or design but to redeem lost souls out of the slavery and service of Satan, and to open a way for them by his own

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1. Ibid., pp. 166, 167.
2. Ibid., p. 107.
3. Cf., Ibid., p. 129.
4. Cf., Ibid., p. 341.

blood, into the Holiest place of all, even Heaven itself, whither he is now entered to prepare a place for us. There was no other remedy, he knew nothing we could do was sufficient to atone for our sins, or make up the breach; therefore he said, Lo! I come, and has now in his own body made satisfaction to divine justice; he has obtained the right of eternal redemption, and can give it to whom he will."[1]

As has already been asserted,[2] justification, not by works, but by faith alone, is prominent in Cennick's doctrine of salvation. Justification is certainly not by the law or by man's own righteousness. Mankind is more or less sensible that one must be righteous, and that without holiness no man can see the Lord. But usually men endeavor to make a righteousness of their own morality, duties, works and prayers. God calls and wakens such men to see the nakedness of being so clothed and the insufficiency of their self-wrought righteousness, and they begin to be in want of a better righteousness. Then through the gift of faith, they may be enabled to see the righteousness of Christ, as prepared and adequate for them. This righteousness of Christ, which is the gift of faith is that better righteousness which God demands.[3] To set something of this before the reader in Cennick's own words, observe the following:

"Jesus Christ's righteousness, his obedience to death, his sufferings, and wounds, and blood, are the only things that make a sinner clean, or cause him to stand boldly in the judgment. This is the only white linen, the only righteousness which the saints wear above, and which can make them beautiful and fair in the eyes of God Almighty. This makes the harlot fair in a moment; the polluted and defiled are herewith clothed, and the shame of their nakedness does not appear, though their sins before had been innumerable."[4]

Thus we see that, according to Cennick, the righteousness which saves the soul, and that which alone is worthy of the name is to be found in the obedience, sufferings, and merit of

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1. Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #10, p. 18.
2. Ante, pp. 185, 186.
3. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 199, 200.
4. Ibid., p. 352.

our crucified God and Lord Jesus Christ. This righteousness is imputed to us by believing in Him.[1] No covering that we can make ourselves can hide our shame from him, but Christ's righteousness is our robe of covering.

> "Whoever despises the simple and mean cure, and will sooner trust what he has procured by art, study, and pains, on his own works and righteousness, rather than the free mercy vouchsafed by looking and believing in him slain for us, such an one dies without mercy, his blood is upon his own head."[2]

With Cennick justification is not built on the untempered mortar of the sinner's own works but is the free justification founded on the grace and righteousness of Christ.[3] This is, in summary, Cennick's idea of justification by faith.

Likewise prominent in the soteriology of John Cennick is the idea of saving faith. After showing the assent of all believers to the facts of Christianity, he makes plain that saving faith is something more than assent to ideas.

> "But they believe more; and herein they differ from such as profess the truth, or have the form of godliness, and speak sound words, but are without the power; for they know our Saviour, they have peace with him, they have got absolution and pardon from him, they have his righteousness, they have his Spirit, they have the foretaste and earnest of their everlasting inheritance. This they enjoy by believing, and as surely as if they lived by sight: I mean as surely as if Jesus walked about with them, talked with them, as if they lay down in his arms, as if they saw him. Faith is the soul's senses; it sees Jesus, hears him, tastes how good he is, follows him by the savour or smell of his good ointments, feels his love, and to all intents and purposes they are saved. There need not be said much about it, 'for whoso believeth, hath the witness in himself;' and though he has not seen Christ, he is blessed in believing in him."[4]

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1. Cf., Ibid., p. 356.
2. Ibid., p. 171.
3. Cf., Ibid., p. 67.
4. Ibid. p. 202.

Cennick declares that this faith the prophets and fathers had because beforehand they saw the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow, and partook of his salvation[1]. In another passage he sets forth more specifically just what such saving faith is, and where it comes from.

> "A second principle of Christianity is faith towards God. This also has been mimicked by the deceiver, and men have learned to say 'I believe', who do not know what they mean. This has been the reason why consenting to a divine truth, such as the mystery of the Trinity, the divinity and miracles of Christ &c., has been called faith, whereas all professors of orthodox Christianity have this, who nevertheless may be strangers to that faith once delivered to the saints. This faith, which is called here 'faith towards God'. and in other places 'faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ', is a certain work of the Holy Ghost in the heart, whereby the possessors of it lay hold on redemption, and appropriate the Lamb and his merits and righteousness to themselves. It is the very evidence, witness, and possessing of our Saviour who is unseen, and brings with it blessedness, peace, life, and the kingdom of God."[2]

This seems to teach that faith is God's gift and is wholly of Him. "Faith is not of ourselves, it is the gift of God: it is not natural, it is from above."[3] It is sometimes evidenced as union with Christ, when He comes with the Father into the believer to make His abode there.[4]

Additional ideas in his doctrine of saving faith are as follows. For one thing to have saving faith is to be born of God.[5] Again all prayer must be made to Jesus, for all hope of obtaining a hearing is in turning to the Lamb and Saviour.[6] Saving faith is also the acceptance of the covenant of grace wherein the whole Godhead enters into a covenant with the Son our Saviour, Who,

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1. Ibid., p. 202.
2. Ibid., p. 201.
3. Ibid., p. 36.
4. Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #22, p. 6.
5. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 201.
6. Cf., Ibid., p. 174.

out of mere pity and love to sinners in their helpless and condemned condition, undertook for them, and became their surety and Saviour.[1] A final quotation from Cennick on the subject of saving faith will be given in concluding this phase of his doctrine of salvation.

> "Faith is a divine testimony and evidence in our hearts, whereby God assures us, that he who is and was, and is to come, was once a man for our sakes, and has died for us on the cross, and took all our sin and curse upon himself, and has loved us with an everlasting love; has healed us by his stripes, has washed us in his blood, justified and sealed us to the day of redemption; and this we believe and know; this we have learned of the Father; this no man can teach his brother, nor any woman her neighbour."[2]

Repentance, like faith, is the gift of God. The Holy Spirit, and with Him forgiveness of sins, is received freely by all who believe in His name.[3] To give one or two direct statements from Cennick himself on this subject will suffice to set forth his view of it, since it is not a prominent doctrine in his messages.

> "True and gospel repentance goes far more abundantly, and is, like faith, a divine work of our Saviour, who was exalted to give repentance to his people. A penitent man is one to whom our Saviour has called as he did to Saul, and arrested him as it were with 'Why persecutest thou me?' Such stand astonished before God."[4]

A somewhat clearer statement is also found in Cennick's sermon on "The First Principles of Christianity" where he writes:

> "If you would know what repentance is current before the Searcher of hearts, it is that which is learned at the foot of the cross, and begins at the death of Jesus. No one has a right sense of sin but by looking to Jesus, or rather by Jesus' looking upon him; there he sees what sin is, and that it could not be purged away but by the blood of God; there is known what a displeasing and hateful thing it must have

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1. Cf., Ibid., p. 106.
2. Ibid., pp. 28, 29.
3. Cf., *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #16, p. 7.
4. Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 200.

been, that it so oppressed and weighed down with intolerable pain and anguish the only begotten of the Father."[1]

As already indicated, Cennick practically identified faith and the assurance of faith. In Cennick's day there were those who feared that assurance of eternal life might result in antinomianism. Cennick was quick to assert that no antinomian wantonness would result from faith and the assurance of it, but rather love and obedience to the Saviour.[2] He asserted that assurance of being pardoned and forgiven is the right and privilege of every believer in Jesus.[3] All who seek shall find assurance. It is unbelief that has invented all the fallacious and delusive arguments against the assurance of faith. Only the assurance of faith renders this life happy and comfortable, at the same time, entirely abolishes the fear of death and hell, and creates the truest love and thankfulness to our Saviour.[4] All that sincerely seek salvation, and neither want to cheat themselves or suffer themselves to be cheated by others, shall be comforted with this eternal consolation.[5] There is such a blessedness attainable, such a divine assurance of the love of God to us, and such a certainty of our going to heaven, as can refresh and comfort the otherwise inconsolable.

Besides assurance of faith Cennick indicated other results or fruits of faith. For instance there is sanctification, which is the result of the continuance of operation of the blood of Jesus through the body, soul and spirit of a believer till all the old nature is purged away, and the believer is fitted for his Heavenly Father's use. This seems a remarkably sane view in the light of some of the perfectionist extremes of Cennick's day.

He pointed out that faith's fruit includes casting all one's sins behind his back, putting a new song in his mouth, forgiveness of sins and eternal happiness.[6] Our happiness, boldness, joy, comfort and assurance are derived eutirely from faith in Christ.

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1. Ibid., p. 201.
2. Ibid., p. 345.
3. Cf., Ibid., p. 342.
4. Cf., Ibid., pp. 343, 345.
5. Cf., Ibid., p. 236.
6. Cf., Ibid., p. 348.

The consciences are purged by Christ's blood, and that blood speaks peace and pardon to the hearts of such as come to behold Him crucified. Boldness before the throne of grace is a fruit of faith.[1] Fear of death and death itself are taken away. The image of God, lost in Adam, is restored. The believer now wears Christ's image, has his mind, his love and gentleness, his loveliness and meekness, and the fruits of His Spirit are in the believer. Grace and truth and a holy life come to the believer as fruits of faith. Captivity is lost, the condemnation of the law destroyed, the bond cancelled and Jesus becomes the believer's surety. There is release from all the tyrants that previously held the one that has now turned from sin to the Saviour.

All these ideas and beliefs have great prominence in Cennick's sermons. His was a vital soteriology. He was an active evangelist and salvation through Jesus Christ was the heart and the core of that evangel which he declared.

H. Doctrine of the Church.

There was very little emphasis on the doctrine of the church in Cennick's messages.[2] In the controversy with Mr. Arrat and William Moore at Moira in the North of Ireland, to which reference has been made previously,[3] there was also some discussion of the church. This gives the clearest ideas of what Cennick thought on this subject.

> "He then asked about my church, ordination, doctrine, &c., and what I thought of the 39 articles of the Church of England . . . After talking about the king being head of the church in the Church of England, about hierarchy, episcopacy &c, I went away . . . I also told him that I firmly believed bishops were instituted in the Church of God, adding, I am an episcopalian, every inch of me, and every drop of blood in me is episcopal."[4]

He refers to the Church of God which has an invisible fold. That fold is surrounded by the immediate protection of the Christ. Each congregation may be a mixed company but this

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1. Cf., Ibid., p. 283.
2. Ante, p. 145.
3. Ante, pp. 155, 181, 182.
4. *Fraternal Record*, Vol. I, pp. 26, 27.

invisible fold belongs to Christ.[1] He makes reference to the divisions in the Christian Church and speaks for its unity.

> "so now the different companies of Christians go up apart, and all retain their little peculiarities; but when the whole shall enter the New Jerusalem I mean all out of every congregation and tribe, who have believed in Jesus and are saved, we shall blush that the best have been so ignorant and mistaken, and agree for ever and ever to worship and give glory to the Lamb that was slain, and his one great offering, his merits and love shall be the subject of our one Song when time is no more. Now let us who have found mercy remember, we are one man's sons, we have one Father, one Saviour, one Faith, one Baptism, one sincere view, namely to love and live only to Him, and let us see that we fall not out by the way."[2]

This word not only indicates his concern for the unity of Christ's followers, but also testifies to his belief in the invisible church, the body of the saved believers. In his message on "The Benefits of the New Testament" he has more to say on the nature of this invisible church which he designates the church of the first-born.

> "We are come to the general assembly, and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven. That is to say, to the one fold, to the one church of God, to the elect and bride of Jesus, to the catholic, or general assembly of the faithful; we are added to the goodly company of the prophets, to the noble army of martyrs, and in the family with the apostles of the Lamb, and all his disciples and friends, gathered out of all nations and lands, and which are properly his first-born; that is, his heirs, such as have his Father for their Father, and his God for their God, and whom he will not be ashamed to call brethren."[3]

This church Cennick portrays as our nursing mother.[4] It was

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1. Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #5, p. 12.
2. Ibid., Discourse #12, pp. 7 and 8.
3. Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 118, 119.
4. Cf., Ibid., p. 187.

brought forth through Jesus' travail.[1]

Cennick speaks at some length on the subject of baptism in his message on "The First Principles of Christianity" and in that same discourse mentions confirmation and ordination. He indicates that Christian baptism was instituted on the day that Jesus ascended; was accompanied by His presence in the experience of the early church; was water-baptism; was for believers; was not for everyone to perform but those called to do it; ought to be done in the name of the Trinity; does not in itself accomplish conversion; has been performed in many modes and forms, and is justified for infants as well as adults. His discourse contains several paragraphs on the modes of baptism, but the central spirit of it is suggested by the following statement which seems unusually sympathetic and tolerant in a day of much strictness of definition, intolerance and exclusiveness.

> "We may not despise any of these forms (of baptism) because the aim to please our Saviour and do his will may be pure and right in his sight, and we may safely conclude he did not therefore appoint the exact mode of baptism, lest we should have been tempted to have rested in the performance of the true and scriptural form, and neglected the chief things, which is the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and without which all the rest is but of little effect."[2]

The subject of confirmation and ordination is mentioned in connection with a discussion of the laying on of hands. Cennick traces the history of the practice as generally indicating the receiving of the Holy Spirit, and concludes that what seems most apostolic and scriptural is the rule to guide practice in the present. Thus we know that he accepted both confirmation and ordination as valid rites of the church.[3] The latter is, of course, testified to also in his own acceptance of ordination.

This sets forth a summary of Cennick's ecclesiology. It was orthodox and evangelical without marked idiosyncrasies. In practice he worshipped both in the ritualistic Anglican Church

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1. Cf., Ibid., p. 180.
2. Ibid., p. 206.
3. Ibid., p. 210.

and also in the outdoor assemblies where he declared the gospel to multitudes.

I. Doctrine of the Last Things.

There was nothing unique in Cennick's doctrine of the last things. As previously indicated[1] this phase of his theological views was not stressed. In general his position was that which would normally be called evangelical or orthodox. He believed in the return of Christ, but seemed to have no millennial ideas whatever. He taught: a day of judgment, a resurrection for all, both good and evil, eternal blessedness for the true believers, but eternal separation from God and torment for those who refused Christ's salvation. His statements concerning the condition of the departed prior to the resurrection seem to indicate a belief in soul-sleeping. He taught the resurrection of the body and the second death.

He declared, concerning the return of our Lord:

> "In the day when the sign of the Son of Man shall be seen coming in the clouds of heaven in his Father's glory, and with his ten thousands of saints, and all his holy angels, when the heavens shall melt at his presence and a shower of fire shall burn up the earth, and all shall tremble and be shaken terribly, that soul shall be happy who has made his wounds their (sic!) Zoar, and who have in time of grace and salvation, fled to his side for refuge."[2]

He has an interesting definition of what is meant by the end of the world. He asserts that it is from Christ's sacrifice to His second appearance in the clouds of heaven, when the mystery of God shall be finished.[3] He sees the believers waiting with great longing for the return of the Lord:

> "When they shall see the Lord descend with ten thousand of his saints; they shall wait with inexpressible longing to see the Son of man coming in the clouds, and to hear the cry, 'Behold, he comes, the Bridegroom comes, go ye up and meet him in the air.' O how will they rejoice! how thankful will

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1. Ante, p. 145.
2. Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #14, p. 19.
3. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 279.

> they be that once in their life-time they laid hold on eternal life, and made their calling and election sure by believing unfeignedly on Jesus Christ!"[1]

What happens when the Lord comes? Cennick tells us that the flesh is not changed nor will be until it is returned to the dust from whence it was taken, or until Jesus comes. Although it will be sown a vile body, at the appearance of the Lord on the day of His coming, it shall rise in His likeness. When He makes a new earth, our bodies also shall be made like His glorious body, and therefore is the resurrection called in the scriptures, the "redemption of the body."[2]

Concerning the day of judgment he indicates that Christ shall be the judge. All wrongs shall be righted. All hidden things shall be brought to light and the counsels of the heart manifested.[3]

> "Two things must then be done, the clearing and justifying the souls who believed in Jesus and the condemning or rather chastening such as have despised the blood of his covenant and would not come to him that they might have life."[4]

For the wicked that day will be one to be greatly dreaded.

> "Who, unregenerate and conscious of his being a natural and carnal man, can do otherwise than shudder when he knows he must die, and after that come to judgment; and when he feels that if he should be called away as he is, he must perish in eternal burnings, and be numbered among foolish virgins, hypocrites, and unbelievers?"[5]

What will happen on that day is what adds to the terror of contemplating it. The tragedy of it all is that it might have been otherwise. Cennick proclaims this in his sermon on "The Safety of a True Christian."

> "What will make the day of judgment more awful will be the bringing to light all the secret sins, the black and horrid crimes, as well as all the slighting and neglecting salvation, the hard thoughts and words spoken against the Lamb, the

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1. Ibid., pp. 334, 335.
2. Cf., Ibid., p. 26.
3. Cf., Ibid., pp. 213, 214.
4. Ibid., p. 214.
5. Ibid., p. 340.

revealing the hidden mystery of iniquity in every creature; all which might have been done away in the fountain of the blood of Christ had not they made light of it, and trifled till the season and day of grace passed over."[1]

The only suggestions, in his writings, about the state of the departed between the end of their earthly life and the resurrection, are the following two brief statements, the first having particular reference to our Lord's experience as benefiting us.

"Therefore has our wise and good Lord laid in the grave himself, and sanctified the state of the dead that we might go through the dark valley cheerfully, and lie down rejoicing, knowing we shall only sleep, and at Jesus' call shall again lift up our heads and rise to life eternal."[2]

The other is concerned more particularly with the believer's departure.

"His (the believer's) departure shall only be to him like the sweet sleep of the way-faring man and traveller, who, having reached, tired and wearied his own house, rests and sleeps in peace: so shall one who partakes of Jesus's quickening Spirit be blessed and holy, the second death shall have no power over him."[3]

Although these are not strong doctrinal statements on the subject, they do carry the hint that the souls of the departed sleep until the resurrection.

Cennick taught clearly and definitely that there is a general resurrection of both good and evil men.

" 'By one came death', he says, 'and by one came the resurrection of the dead' and boldly asserts that Christ had so undertook the cause, that death, sin, the curse, and whatever came in by original sin, shall be done away and destroyed in him, who will reign till he has subdued all things to himself, and swallowed up death in victory, and brought out of their graves again those who have been turned into corruption, and make all alive, some to everlasting life, and

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1. Ibid., p. 335.
2. Ibid., p. 212.
3. Ibid., p. 212.

some to everlasting shame and contempt."[1]

There is a clear statement also in his sermon on "The First Principles of Christianity" on this subject of the resurrection.

> "That the dead, small and great, just and unjust shall rise again and come to life through the resurrection of Jesus, is fully asserted in St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians: and our Saviour himself taught it: 'All that are in the grave shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and shall come forth.' "[2]

This resurrection is effected through the divine hand of our Lord Jesus, Who can subdue all things to Himself, and can raise up all the innumerable company who have slept in the graves, who are now returned to dust and are scattered and dispersed far and near.[3]

Cennick taught that the believer who continues faithful shall not taste of the second death, that the second death shall have no power over him.[4]

Cennick believed that the destiny of the blessed dead was to be with Jesus. The believer's journeys, pains and tears would come to an eternal end. When his own strength failed him he would see Jesus coming out to meet him, to welcome hin into heaven. The believer was destined to see Jesus face to face, and then would discover raptures and joys far surpassing in comparison the best and highest ever experienced in this world. He would then be certain that the half of the glories of that eternal destination had never been told him here.[5] All the pleasures at God's right hand are forevermore. There the believer shall live to all eternity. This is the destiny of the redeemed, for they cannot die; they cannot know any bitterness or sting or death, nor grief nor trouble at their departure. They shall live in eternity.[6]

Moreover in the resurrection the believers shall rise first.

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1. Ibid., p. 178.
2. Ibid., p. 212.
3. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #15, p. 5.
4. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 212.
5. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #6, pp. 23, 24.
6. Cf., Ibid., Discourse #5, p. 12.

Their mortality shall be changed to immortality; their corruption into incorruption. They shall have slept their sleep out and be fully rested, and then shall rise and follow Him whom their souls loved.[1]

"Then know, assuredly, ye shall soon hear the singing and music in the Heavenly House, and have the happiness of being brought to the King. Here ye shall know and feel his love, but there you shall see him, and go out no more for ever. O Lord, let that day come quickly!"[2]

There was to be a quite different destiny for those who lived and died strangers to our Saviour. The resurrection would be a heavy time for such, a day of gloominess and darkness, a day wherein the mighty man should weep bitterly, and all faces look pale. The unredeemed would feel what it is to be without the Saviour. They shall "live to die for ever" and the resurrection be no blessing to them at all.[3] They must tremble to stand before the Son of man. They shall hear His "Go, ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."[4] They shall attempt to flee from the presence of God in the great day of judgment. They shall be condemned to the slavery of Satan eternally.[5]

These constitute the chief phases of Cennick's doctrine of the last things. They are the continuance, beyond the cessation of earthly life, of the blessedness brought in through faith in, and obedience to, Jesus Christ, God's Son, our Saviour. Or they are the continuance beyond the cessation of earthly life of the horrors that separation from God in Christ brings. A relationship to Him of love and trust is essential for time and eternity. The overwhelmingly important thing is to establish that relationship in earthly experience. God then guarantees its continuance. Not to establish that relationship has its continuing part in everlasting servitude to Satan and complete separation from God.

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1. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, pp. 212, 213.
2. *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #6, p. 22.
3. Cf., Cennick, John: *Village Discourses*, p. 213.
4. Cf., Ibid., p. 188.
5. Cf., Cennick, John: *Seventeen Discourses*, Discourse #22, p. 8.

J. Summary.

The theological views fo John Cennick, gleaned from his sermons and other writings, have now been presented in some detail. In addition to noting those particular emphases that marked his views, his total theology has been examined in all the various areas of its expression. From this examination it has been discovered that he held that the doctrine of the Saviour transcends human reason and knowledge, and is to be believed though it contradicts philosophy and science. He taught that the scriptures were the words of God, were to be prized above all other writings and to be implicitly believed. He believed that the scriptures were written for the salvation of men, that they testify to Christ and are all to be credited.

This examination has revealed that his doctrine of God was the orthodox evangelical view, including the tenets of divine sovereignty and of the personality of God. It also included the orthodox view of the Trinity and unity of the Godhead.

His doctrine of the person and nature of Christ has been found to include such elements as the historical Jesus, the Christ of experience,—which for Cennick are one,—the incarnation and virgin birth, the two natures,—man and God in one person,—Christ's mediatorship and high priesthood and His equality with the Father and the Spirit.

This study has revealed that Cennick's doctrine of the Holy Spirit set Him forth as the third person of the Trinity, the possession of all believers, the inspirer of the prophets, saints and apostles, without whose ministry there is no salvation. He it is that enlightens and shows the necessity for Christ's righteousness to the individual. He purges and sanctifies the church. He governs and leads His people by His secret workings. He witnesses to the new birth and gives assurance of eternal life. He guides, comforts, convinces of sin, leads to salvation. He is the Lord and Giver of Life. He is the Source of power for Christian living. He is the Spirit of Truth. Through Him men are reborn. He is equal with the Father and the Son in the blessed Trinity.

The doctrine of man and sin, according to Cennick, includes the tenet that man was created in the likeness and image of God. That likeness and image was forfeited and lost in Adam's fall. Man is body, soul and spirit. As a result of Adam's fall, man's nature is sinful and depraved. The roots of Christianity are not in man but in God's invitation to man through the Holy Spirit. God's plan for man's salvation antedated the fall. All men are provided for in God's plan of redemption, and electing grace is conditioned by man's reception of it and response. None are elected to damnation. Man has freedom of choice and is responsible. He must be vigilant in continuing faithful lest he lose his estate; but Christ's faithfulness is assured. Cennick's doctrine of man and of sin was found to be less rigid than either extreme Calvinism or extreme Arminianism.

This analysis of Cennick's theological views has disclosed that in his doctrine of salvation he laid his dominant emphasis on the atonement through Christ's sufferings and detah. He paid the ransom for us, suffering in our stead. He satisfied divine justice, and demonstrated divine love. He fulfilled what was utterly necessary for man's salvation. Justification is by faith alone, not by works of the law which can justify no one. Saving faith is God's work and God's gift through the Holy Spirit. So is repentance. Sanctification is of the Holy Spirit and is the applying of the blood of Christ to every part of the believer's life; therefore it is a fruit of salvation. Every believer who has experienced salvation has the certainty and assurance of it, by acquaintance with the Saviour and by the Holy Spirit's presence and testimony in the heart. He is a new creature through being born of the Spirit.

Cennick's doctrine of the church has been set forth in this study as a minor emphasis in his theology. It includes the orthodox view of baptism and the Lord's Supper, ordination, confirmation, and church government. In the latter he believed in an episcopal form as that justified by the scriptures and apostolic tradition. He believed in and urged the unity of Christ's followers. He taught that the totality of the real believers constitutes the invisible church of Christ.

Similarly in Cennick's doctrine of the last things, the emphasis was minor, but included orthodox views of the return of Christ, with no millennial ideas, and the day of judgment. There was little theology of an intermediate state, but the suggestion of soul-sleeping. He taught a general resurrection of the wicked and the redeemed. He asserted that the believer shall not taste the second death. The destiny of the believer includes entrance into Christ's presence face to face and bliss eternally. The destiny of unbelievers who refuse Christ's offer is separation from Christ forever, everlasting servitude to Satan and darkness and torment eternally.

CHAPTER VI

The Influence and Appraisal of John Cennick

Now that Cennick's life, times, work and theological views have been considered in detail, we are in a position to consider his influence. This chapter is an attempt to describe and appraise the influence of his theological views on incipient Methodism, on the early Calvinistic Methodist movement and on the Moravians; the influence of his life and ministry on the Evangelical Revival, on the Moravian Church and on Christian Life in general; and the influence of his hymns. Likewise there will be presented a critical estimate of Cennick and a concluding word.

A. Of His Theological Views.

E. R. Hasse has expressed what seems clear from this study, namely, that Cennick did his work along genuine Moravian lines and as a typical representative of the Moravian spirit.[1] It follows therefore that his contribution was more to Christian living than to doctrinal formulation. His theological influence was a minor influence, yet there are indications of such an influence in three directions.

1. First of all there was the influence of his doctrinal views on incipient Methodism. The very first mark of it grew out of Cennick's own experience of the assurance of salvation. Likewise the experience of John Wesley had been influenced by the insistence of Peter Boehler that a man must know that he is saved. Thrown together in mutual labors in Kingswood and Bristol, where their message was delivered to the colliers in their great need, Cennick and Wesley each confirmed and strengthened the other's view. Both had experienced assurance, both believed it God's gift to those who might experience His salvation. In this, Cennick's doctrinal view bolstered and abetted that of Methodism's great leader. and was one of the influences on the beginnings of Methodism.

Cennick's views tempered the extremes of perfectionism to which some early Methodists were inclined to go. Cennick's

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1. Cf., Op. cit., p. 104.

doubt, at first, of its basis in Scripture or Christian experience, was followed by certainty and clarity of understanding that these extremes of perfectionism were not of God. Since John Wesley was inclined, in the early days of his ministry, to believe and teach perfectionism, Cennick's outspoken opposition and contrary teaching not only built up a party that agreed with him against the extremes of perfectionism, but also undermined the bases for continuance in this view, of those who for a time still accepted it.

The theological view of Cennick concerning the manifestations of the Holy Spirit particularly in the work of regeneration, was a potent influence on incipient Methodism against the horrible physical manifestations that often accompanied John Wesley's preaching, and sometimes John Cennick's, at Kingswood and Bristol. These displays, Wesley, on at least one occasion, seemed to encourage, by asking in prayer for signs of the presence of God, and by describing the strange physical manifestations as the birth pangs of the new life. Cennick believed that there was something beyond the natural in these manifestations but attributed them to the Devil rather than to God. He directly opposed Wesley in this also, and built up a party that agreed with him. Likewise he challenged the people on whom these strange spasms came. Here, too, he undermined the certainty that this was of God, even with Wesley himself as well as with his followers. Cennick's doctrine of the Holy Spirit thus influenced incipient Methodism.

The insistence of John Cennick that salvation was by faith alone, and not by any works of righteousness of the one coming to the Saviour, influenced early Methodism. The Wesleys' urging of human seeking for salvation and doing the works of faith seemed to Cennick to be rebuilding a form of salvation by the works of the law. This, too, was one of the doctrinal bases of his differences with Wesley, and influenced both those who withdrew from Wesley's Societies and those who remained, including the Wesleys themselves.

Cennick's reaction to the Wesleyan emphasis on universal salvation was the acceptance of a doctrine of election that for a

time seemed to be closely akin to the Calvinistic view, though he never admitted the election to damnation or reprobation. This was also one of the views that actuated the controversy that separated the Wesleys and Cennick. It influenced the continuing Wesleyan group in preaching more vehemently, throughout the lifetime of John Wesley at least, the extreme Arminian view of conditional election.

Notice needs to be taken here of the contention by George Croft Cell that John Wesley was in doctrinal views a Calvinist or near-Calvinist.[1] There are three things chiefly that make Cell's view less than convincing.

The first one is that the extremely humanistic conception of Arminianism that he advances is not true to the nature of that theological view. It is true that John Wesley, in his doctrinal view, did not dethrone God and set up the worship of man, but neither did others of the Arminian school of thought. Cell's view of Arminianism makes it far more humanistic than justified by either "The Remonstrance" or the continuing school of Arminians. Therefore his proofs of Wesley's not holding to a view that is an erroneous conception of Arminianism are not evidence that Wesley was not an Arminian.[2]

The second thing is that Cell's view would seem to indicate that John Wesley was self-deceived, for Wesley counted himself an Arminian. When he began the publication of a Methodist magazine in 1778 he named it the "Arminian Magazine." He continued to publish it until his death. What else could be the basis for the choice of this name than that he conceived the Methodist Church as representative of the views of Arminius. Incidentally, it might be mentioned in passing that Cell runs counter to the generally accepted view of Wesley's theological teachings, and leaves the impression that all preceding writers on Wesley have failed to make use of the primary sources.

The third thing that makes Cell's view less than convincing is that after he makes claim to getting it from primary sources and as the result of almost a generation of extensive research,

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1. *The Rediscovery of John Wesley*; Cf., Preface, p. v; also pp. 242 ff.
2. Qualben, Lars P.: op. cit., p. 351.

he fails to use all the primary sources. Certainly the record of a man like Cennick,—who was not only a contemporary but one greatly involved in doctrinal controversy with Wesley that eventually effected their separation and the establishment of rival Societies,—ought to be counted a primary source. The record, in primary sources, does show that Wesley did preach and publish the sermon on "Free Grace." Whitefield did oppose that message and controvert it as opposed to the doctrine of election. Wesley did separate from Cennick and from Whitefield on doctrinal grounds, according to the records, and both of these men believed that it was in opposition to doctrines usually associated with John Calvin. Cennick has left a record of this.[1] Wesley himself testified in his own *Journal* that his opponents contended about election,[2] about Wesley's preaching man's faithfulness and not the faithfulness of God,[3] about both the Wesleys preaching righteousness in man and universal redemption. Wesley indicated that his opponets accused him of preaching against predestination and counting those who believed election as enemies of God.[4] He implied that he didn't believe in election when he asserted that he didn't expel members of his Societies in London and Bristol that were believers in election.[5] Whatever Wesley's later views may have become, the evidence of the early years of Methodism is that he was not Calvinistic but opposed to the doctrines of Calvin.

Cell himself declares that Wesley's earlier dogmatism "toned down into patience and he became consciously broader in his theological outlook."[6] He also asserts that Wesley stigmatized his own earlier position as bigotry.[7]

Even as Cennick's theological views influenced the continuing Wesleyan movement, so also, it influenced those who joined themselves to Cennick in the separation and continued in the Calvinistic Methodist movement, which will now be shown.

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1. Ante, p. 64.
2. Ante, p. 67.
3. Ante, p. 68.
4. Ante, p. 69.
5. Ante, p. 72.
6. Op. cit., p. 249.
7. Ibid., p. 249.

2. A second influence of Cennick's theological views was that felt in the beginnings of the Calvinistic Methodist movement. Suggestion has already been made of Cennick's doctrinal view on election. A more rigid view on this subject was that held by George Whitefield and Howell Harris, who became the dominant leaders in this division of the Evangelical Revival. As Cennick was one of the prime influences in the beginnings of the Calvinistic Methodists, participating both in their first conference of organization in Wales, and entertaining the first conference in England, of which division he became the superintendent under Whitefield, his doctrinal position was one of the creative influences which formed this group.

Cennick remained on friendly terms with Harris, in spite of their differences at the Tabernacle. He, often, at Harris' request, after he had separated officially from the Calvinistic Methodists and was with the Moravians in Ireland, made tours in South Wales preaching to the Calvinistic Methodist Societies. His doctrinal views were, by virtue of this relation, an influence on this group.

3. A third influence of Cennick's theological views was that exercised on the Moravians. This was decidedly a minor one. It must be remembered that Cennick was drawn to the Moravians by their doctrine, their uncontroversial spirit, their discipline and order and by their serene and joyful Christian lives. Since he sought freedom from the doctrinal differences that had troubled him and which rose from opposite rigid views, and since the doctrine of the Moravians offered a congenial refuge, his influence on the Moravians was that of adding a powerful voice in agreement with their doctrinal viees. In this he was successful.

B. Of His Life and Work.

The major influence of John Cennick was that of his life and ministry. There were many secondary strains to this influence but only three primary ones.

1. The first was that exercised on the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. That he was a major force in this movement, in a class with the Wesleys and Whitefield, has al-

ready been shown. Thousands were turned to Christ through his direct ministry. Other multitudes were reached by his ministers, exhorters and stewards, or were influenced by the wave of revival which attended his work and ministry in Wiltshire, Dublin and the North of Ireland. In fact he introduced the Revival into Ireland and was one of the most successful evangelists that ever visited that country. He was greatly loved in its capital city of Dublin. His influence among the Irish was widespread, deep and lasting. Though not alone in promoting revival in that country, he was its leader. He brought Roman Catholics and Protestants together and left a more kindly feeling among them there.

Although his prime importance was felt in the areas just indicated, his influence in the Evangelical Revival was great in London, in Yorkshire, Wales and many parts of England. His was one of the voices used of God to call that spiritually dead generation of English, Welsh and Irish people to spiritual resurrection and life.

2. The second major influence of Cennick's life and ministry was in the Moravian Church of the British Isles. Having been drawn to the Moravians both by their character, their discipline and their doctrine, he brought his Wiltshire Societies into the Moravian Church where they furnished the bases for further evangelization and for a larger share in the spread of the Revival. He worked as a Moravian evangelist from December 1745 until the end of his life. Of all the English Moravians Cennick did most to extend the cause of the Moravian Church in the United Kingdom. Fifteen Moravian congregations were directly attributable to his work. Yet no position of special responsibility or honor was ever given him in that Church. Through his converts that work was extended further. One of them, John Caldwell, introduced the Moravian Church to Scotland. Two others went to preach in the Island of Jamaica. Other streams of influence in this Church of his adoption, are not easily traced, but nevertheless made their contribution to the spirit of that Church in its relationship with the Anglican Church and in the vitality of its message to the needs of the period

immediately following Cennick.

Addison tells us[1] that the renewal of the ancient Unitas Fratrum on English soil involved (1) the ingathering and pastoral care of new adherents, (2) the creation of an organization and of a sense of corporate solidarity. He tells us the first went ahead rapidly, assisted by those striking accessions to the numerical strength due to the work of Benjamin Ingham, the Yorkshire Evangelist, and John Cennick, the Apostle of Wiltshire. Our review also has given strong testimony to Cennick's influence here. Certainly in the organizing of converts into Societies and congregations, and in the construction of buildings for the Societies and the appointment of preachers and exhorters, Cennick contributed also to the creation of an organization and to a sense of corporate solidarity.

3. The third major influence of Cennick's life and ministry was on Christian life in general. A man, reared in the Anglican fold and continuing throughout his life to express a love for that Church, yet successively sharing in the leadership of the three groups growing out of the Evangelical Revival, was bound to exercise a wide influence on the Christian life in general. Hutton says of him that of all the great preachers of the eighteenth century, not one was superior to Cennick in beauty of character. He was almost worshipped by the poor of Ireland.[2] He points out that Cennick was inferior to Wesley in organizing skill and inferior to Whitefield in dramatic power, but in devotion, in simplicity, and in command over his audience he was equal to either.[3] Cennick's vivid realization and consciousness of the presence of God, his certainty of the guidance and power of the Holy Spirit, his intimate personal association with Jesus, all contributed to a life of such vitality and power, that those associated with him or who came under his influence, either turned with great devotion to the Saviour, or turned militantly against the Saviour and against His messenger. He proclaimed a trans-

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1. Cf., Op. cit., pp. 91, 105.
2. Hutton, J. E.: *History of the Moravian Church*, p. 330.
3. Ibid., p. 330.

forming gospel, but first of all he experienced its transforming power. He talked of a Father, a Spirit and a Saviour whom he knew intimately. He declared the sanctifying power of the continuing influence of the blood of Christ operating in the redeemed, and his own life and character emphasized his message.

C. Of his Hymns.

Cennick is probably best known today for his hymns. Most collections of hymns contain his "Children of the Heavenly King," while many contain others of his hymns. His "Ere I sleep, for every favour," his "Lo! He comes, with clouds descending" and his "Christ is our Master, Lord and God, the fulness of the three in One," also appear in quite a number of current hymn books. His words of grace "Be present at our table, Lord" and "We thank Thee, Lord, for this our food" also have wide currency. The British Moravian hymnal of 1908 contains twenty-two hymns of his authorship and the American Moravian hymnal of 1923 contains thirteen. These and others of his hymns continue to make his name known, and influence many to love and adore the Christ whom he loved so well, and for whom he labored so arduously.

D. Critical Estimate.

There is some justification for the criticism of vacillation and changeableness in the doctrinal views of John Cennick. His apparent shift wholeheartedly to Calvinism as expressed by Whitefield and Harris, from the views of the Wesleys, and then within five years his change to the Moravians and their doctrines, seem to justify this criticism. However, the criticism is mitigated by two facts. The first is the youth of Cennick at the time. He was struggling toward doctrinal certainty in major phases of his theology. He was but twenty-one when he separated from the Wesleys and only twenty-seven when he left Whitefield to unite with the Moravians. The second fact is that the doctrinal changes were not as extreme as they seemed. The changes were changes of association more than of his own doctrine. Cennick's discovery of the views of Wesley, with which he differed, and Wesley's unwillingness to permit the continuance of

fellowship except on the basis of the disruption of the doctrinally congenial group within the Kingswood Society, actually achieved the separation. In Cennick's going to Whitefield there was not complete doctrinal agreement, for Cennick never agreed completely with Whitefield on election. The separation from Whitefield was not based on an unwillingness to fellowship because of theological differences so much as distaste for theological rigidity and doctrinal controversy on the one hand, and the discovery of a people on the other hand with whom there was both doctrinal and spiritual congeniality.

Another blemish in Cennick was his fondness for overdrawn sentimental language. He wept when he read Zinzendorf's "Litany of the Wounds of Jesus." He expressed no word of criticism for the Moravians at Marienborn and Herrnhaag, though they were, at the time of his visits, involved in what is known as the "sifting time" in pietism. This was a period marked by all sorts of emotional excesses in worship and especially in the verbal expressions of it. Zinzendorf's "Litany of the Wounds of Jesus" was in language affected by such emotionally extreme expressions. Hutton thought that this trait in Cennick eventually led to morbidity. He quotes for illustration the fact that Cennick expressed a real desire to die, when, broken by overwork and illness, he was told by Bishop Gambold that the sickness he then suffered might be his last. The criticism is not unfounded, though probably overstated. In extenuation it ought to be said that the expressions of some of Cennick's correspondents, such as John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield were equally marked by terms of endearment and by sentimental language.

Certain lacks and weaknesses of Cennick's work are directly attributable to his lack of formal schooling. Although several of his hymns have real worth, others are decidedly inferior, and the same can be said for his poems. His published sermons were more marked by spiritual power than by homiletic excellence.

Cennick's theological views have been called a minor influence in comparison with his evangelistic work in the Evangelical

Revival and the influence of his hymns. Nevertheless those doctrinal views exercised considerable force in combating the doctrinal excesses of both Arminians and Calvinists in the early Methodist movement. His views were also important in working toward less rigidity of definition in theology, less controversy and more liberal attitudes toward doctrinal differences.

Cennick occupied a middle position between Calvinism and Arminianism. He would agree with Calvinists on the depravity and inability of man. He seemed to agree with them also in the doctrine of election, but could not accept either election as unconditional or election to damnation. Thus his position was somewhere between the two extreme views on election. He could not accept the Calvinist view of limited atonement but here was in agreement with the Arminians. Though he taught that grace, like faith, was the gift of God, there is no evidence that he followed the Calvinists in a belief in irrestible grace. Concerning the perseverance of the saints he taught that vigilance was necessary lest the believer lose his high estate, yet Christ is faithful, can be completely counted on and will not permit anyone to pluck His own out of His hands. Thus again he occupied a place between the extremes of Calvinism and Arminianism. The trend of theological thought since his time has given his position theologically a large measure of standing. It seems to the writer that he was more right then either Whitefield or Wesley. His middle ground was more Biblical than either of the other views, more Biblical in the sense of following the total message of the Bible. He accepted what the Bible taught even when it seemed to go contrary to his own judgment. He counted its truth higher than what reason dictated.

Though it is not possible to trace Cennick's view of religious knowledge in its subsequent influence, it is interesting to notice how similar a view is now advanced by the Barthian school of theologians. It, too, discredits reason and philosophy as aids to knowledge of God. It posits faith as a method of cognition and as the only source of our knowledge of God.

Should someone question the reason for this thesis, since

Cennick's theology has been declared a minor influence from him, there are several answers that could be given. The first would be that the intention was to discover what Cennick believed, because he was so important to the Evangelical Revival and in the Methodist movement in its three expressions, viz., Arminian Methodists, Calvinistic Methodists and the Moravians. The question did not presume the answer, but rather was the place of departure for searching out the answer. That search has been made and the answer given. The continuing traceable effect of John Cennick is discernible chiefly in his hymns and his evangelistic work in the United Kingdom. Yet the minor influence is evident as has been shown.

Another answer to one questioning the reason for this thesis and its title would be that theological views that conform largely to the accepted major stream of belief are not likely to make or preserve the name of one holding them, even though, like Cennick, he gave considerable impetus to making them vital and experienced. A theological aberration preserves the name of the man supporting it. Holding to a median position theologically may contribute much more to Christian life but little to the continuing fame of the adherent. That was Cennick's doctrinal fault.

However, the facts bear witness to traits of character and spirit that call forth nothing but great admiration and praise. One rises from a study of his life, ministry and theological views with a feeling of thanksgiving to God for the great demonstration of His transforming power in Cennick. His sermons give spiritual light, wisdom and power two hundred years after they were written. His life and ministry establish goals for devotion, labor and zeal that can scarcely be equalled in any day. His intimacy with God's Spirit reminds of apostolic days, and creates a fervent desire to be as sure as he was of the divine presence and leading.

E. A Personal Word.

It is with gratitude for the privilege afforded by the necessity of this study, to become thoroughly acquainted with this man of

God, John Cennick, that this thesis closes. To share intimately with a heart so rich in spiritual treasures, so aware of Christ and His great love, so certain of the Holy Spirit's initiative and presence, so filled with that wisdom which is the gift of faith, has been a spiritual experience. Imagination suggests two things arising from consideration of Cennick: First, what might have been accomplished by Cennick had his life been extended to even the normal three score years and ten, based on the achievements of his brief thirty-six years; and, second, what would happen in the Christian cause today, if all who name Christ's name were marked by the same genuineness of Christian life, a similarity of Christian power and courage and a corresponding extensiveness and intensity of labours, as distinguished the "Apostle to Wiltshire," John Cennick.

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APPENDICES

The material in these appendices includes: Cennick's own account of his transforming spiritual experience; the documents in connection with the original coming of the Moravians to Ireland with all matters relating to their losing Skinner's Alley Meeting House; and the list of Cennick's published sermons, with titles, texts, place where preached and the date preached.

The first is so important to Cennick's life and theology that it ought to be known. It seems to have a significance equal to that experience of John Wesley at Aldersgate Street, though the latter is widely heralded and the former almost unknown.

The second relates to a controversial question usually judged on the basis of Wesley's published letters. This record has the advantage of including not only the letters of Wesley previously published but also some others of his, not previously published. Beyond that and even more significant is the inclusion of letters written to John Wesley in response to his, or letters to which his letters were responses. This tells its own story and is somewhat different from the conventional one concerning the Skinner's Alley Meeting House Controversy.

The third is a clear and concise record of all of Cennick's published sermons, (appearing in different groupings in several volumes otherwise), brought together for ready reference, permitting one to understand more clearly the nature of his preaching.

APPENDIX A

JOHN CENNICK'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS TRANSFORMING SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE

"When as I was walking hastily in Cheapside in London, the Hand of the Lord touched me! I felt at once an uncommon fear and dejection, and tho' all my days, since I could remember, had been bitter thro' the strength of convictions, and the fear of going to Hell; yet I knew not any weight before like this. At first I thought it might be owing to my missing the Lord's Supper on Easter Day; which I had done, because I had not opportunity to fast in Passion-week as I would (being at my brother's house, where I thought I should be laugh'd at for it;) and I did not dare to communicate unprepar'd, and without the wedding-garment.

"I continued dull and thoughtful all the time I was in town, nor would sights and songs divert my trouble. I then thought it might be the thick unhealthy air makes me out of order, and by going into the country I shall be well; but such a journey did I never take before: nor sooner had I left the city, but the terrors of the Lord came about me, and the pains of hell took hold on me! Tho' the sun shone beautifully, and the day was pleasant, it brought no comfort to me. I came to my house heavy and disconsolate, and would have pray'd but could not! My grief was too great, and increased night and day exceedingly! I grew feeble, and was sore smitten, and roar'd for the very disquietness of my heart!

"I went on thus near a year, hoping to get the victory over it, tho' utterly ignorant what my distemper was; often looking back to my innocent life, and wonder'd why God had singled out me to make miserable: and when I found freedom to pray, I begg'd the Lord to give me a friend, who would join with me in religion, that in his company I might drive away my grief, and go on my way rejoicing. Not long after I contracted an acquaintance with one who was serious, and in a short time with another whom I soon loved better than the first; not for the regard he had to religion, but for his natural sweet disposition, and merry behaviour.

"And now we were so pleas'd with each others company, that we were never so well as when we were together: especially when the other went to Oxford; and I was generally eas'd from my convictions all that while we were together: for so greatly did it displease the Lord, that he then withdrew his hand, and for a while let me alone.

"But it was not long before the weight return'd, and whenever I was walking alone either in the fields or roads, every thing appear'd so strange and wild, that I often resolved not to look up: and wished to fly to some solitary place, where I might dwell in a cave, lying on the leaves of trees, and feeding on the natural fruits of the earth. Whoever I met I envy'd their happiness.

Whatever I heard grieved me; and whatever I said or did so troubled me, that I repented that I stirr'd, or broke silence. If I laughed at any thing my heart smote me immediately, and if the occasion was a foolish jest or lye (sic), I thought alas! I help'd to ruin not only my own soul, but the souls of others also; and such places of Scripture would come in my mind, Wo be to them that laugh now, for they shall morn and weep. And without are dogs, and whoso loveth, or maketh a lye. And that they all may be damn'd who take pleasure in unrighteousness.

"I left off singing songs, playing at cards, seeing plays, and such like; finding plainly they were vanity of vanities. And indeed when I looked into the world, all things seems to be unnatural and unpleasant as if I had been banished into a foreign land; my own town, house, and relations being all strange to me. Then I wished strongly to get into a Romish monastry (sic) and to spend my life in holy retirement; but the want of money for my journey seem'd to prevent me from doing it.

"Often such a confusion of thought came upon me in bed, that I was forced to rise, and walk about the chamber. If I was up, I endeavour'd to overcome it by running, or eating, or talking; and when all these fail'd, I thought physic may do me good. And then I took physic, but alas! the true physician I knew not. When between whiles I was somewhat easier, I began to cry peace to my soul; I have not been so very great a sinner as such an one, soul be of good cheer. But my pangs soon return'd, and the more I try'd to quiet my accusing conscience, the more it testify'd against me; and my sorrows were so multiply'd, that I was even buried in affliction.

"All this while I had no power over sin, nor the least strength to resist temptations, being carnal, and sold under sin, I committed it continually, tho' not in the eyes of the world. My chief sins were pride, murmuring against God, blasphemy, disobedience, and evil concupiscence; sometimes I strove against them, but finding myself always conquer'd, I concluded there was no help. Then was I weary of life, and often pray'd that God would hide me in the grave; or at least, suffer me to be made, that I might not be sensible of my many misfortunes. Sometimes a spark of fear and hope, and hell and heaven, would so confusedly come into my mind, that I scarce could forbear blaspheming aloud; and if I strove to pray, such horrid sentences against God came into my mind, that instead of opening my mouth I was fixing my teeth together, lest I should utter them. Then the Tempter so powerfully suggested God look'd to the heart, and not to the words, that I more and more thought I was predestinated to misery everlasting. Often too as I was walking, I found such strong temptations to curse and swear, that I have stood considering whether I have not really spoken; and I have expected every moment to have the Devil let loose upon me, and to fall into all manner of wickedness.

"When I was at church I was generally thinking how I should in time be rich, and what a stately church I would build; how the pillars should stand, and how the altar be adorn'd with paintings; and in what form the communion-

table should be laced, and how windows should be painted; when the last prayer was reading my terror would return. My formal worship seem'd plain mockery of God. I made promises to be more watchful: and because my mind should not wander, I fix'd my eyes on the devoutest of the congregation, but here also, I found them to wander as before; and to envy them for being more devout then myself.

"Finding so much dissatisfaction in all I did, not knowing sin from duty, or convictions from temptations, and considering the prayers of the wicked were an abomination, I at last let off to pray: scarce had I done this, but the Devil persuaded me to say in my heart there is no God; Who is God? No one ever saw Him; how can I tell if there be a God, or not? If there were, He would not have suffered me to endure so much; knowing how religious I have liv'd from my youth. Thus I reason'd with myself till I sunk deeper and deeper; yet whenever I read the Scripture, my heart so witnessed to the truth, that I could not help saying, doubtless there is a God that judgeth the earth.

"The night was more burdensome than the day. I started at everything that stirr'd in the dark, fancying that I should see apparitions in the corners of the room, or behind me, or in my way; and being continually afraid of meeting the Devil. Then it came strongly to me, if there be no God, why am I pressed to curse Him? On which I began to pray again yet almost in despair for the evil I had done; finding his face was still against me, and his truth ready to swallow me up. I often despondingly said, O why am I Thy mark? Have I sinned more than all the sons of Adam? O that I had never been born, or died on the knees, when I hanged yet on my mother's breast. The more I was assur'd of a Divine Ruler by his repeated scourges, and the want of Him in my heart, the more Satan pressed me to believe myself quite forsaken; and when I looked up toward Heaven I said, Ah! I have no part there! The gate of that holy city is closed to every sinner; and no impure thing can enter therein. Alas! what shall I do in the day of judgment? How shall I meet the Lord, when He shall come with ten thousand of His saints, and in flaming fire; but is there no pity with God? Must I be cast away from His eyes? Has the Lord forgotten to be gracious? When no answer was given again I ceased, and thought to bear my burden, and seek no more to be released; saying to myself, all the days of my appointed time must I wait till my change come. And meanwhile such clouds cover'd me that I stood still, and fix'd my heavy eyes on the trees, walls, or on the ground, amazed above measure, and often crying with a bitter cry, What must I do to be saved!

"Among the many idle contrivances I had of escaping, one was to travel by night to Salisbury Plain; and there sit, or wander about without food till I should be eased of my tedious life; having fix'd on midnight for the time of my first setting out, I bad adieu to the world with tears. As I was eating a bit of bread (being alone) spake thus, I will now eat no more forever! I shall now trouble the earth no more; I shall no more see any of my acquaintance

or relations, till I meet them in eternity! I then laid me down as I was, that I might be ready at the time: But God's Providence so order'd, that I awaked not till late in the morning: and so was again disappointed.

"Throughout all my calamity I could not be thankful for any temporal blessings. Nothing delighted me, or made me once wish to stay behind on the earth a day. The shining of the Sun, the beauty of the spring, the voice of singing, the melody of birds, the shade of trees, or the murmur of waters afforded me now no pleasure. No! all was strange and dark, and gloomy and desolate! All was vanity and vexation of spirit! All the earth seemed full of darkness, and cruel habitations: nor could meat, drink, or raiment give me any comfort. I wanted only to know if I had any part in the Lord Jesus.

"And now a thought sometimes came, what if I should be sav'd? It may be the Lord is chastening me for my good. Nay, sometimes I heard a voice as it were, saying, 'Behold thou shalt bear my Name before much people, and it shall come to pass that in thy days many shall be added to the Lord.' To this I myself answered, Lord, how can I bear thy Name to others, who look every hour to be lost myself? Neither have I learning, nor the understanding of the Scriptures. Then would it be strongly impress'd upon me, 'Fear not, I am with thee, and thou shalt testify of me in every place whither I shall send thee. Lo! I will be a mouth to thee, and thou shalt bear my gospel, even in the midst of the streets. But this being then an unheard of thing, I regarded it not, and was soon as heavy as before.

"After I had been thus afflicted, and grieved near two years, the temptation to think I should never die, or live to a great age; so prevailed upon me, that instead of asking for mercy, I asked hourly for death; yea, and desired to break into eternity, tho' at the hazard of falling into hell. My continual prayer was out of Herm. Hugo.

O Lord, my God, some kind relief afford,
Grant some kind poison, or some friendly sword;
The mercy, death, is all I Thee implore,
O grant it soon, lest I blaspheme Thy power.

"These thoughts I often cherish'd by rising at midnight, and looking out at the window, contemplating the solemnity of the night, and the profound silence of the morning watch. If then I heard a dog bark, trembling I answered, So God accounts of my prayers. If I heard the owl, I thought, I am also become like an owl in the desert.

"As I was yet pressed down with convictions of sin, and the fear of God's wrath and the dreadful looking for judgment; pride in apparel and spirit, lust, covetousness and passion, still ruled most in my captive spirit: against these I strove by fasting long and often, and pray'd kneeling nine times a day; and the week before the communion I spent as much time as possible in works of mortification and self-denial, eating only once a day, viz., in the evening; and from Friday breakfast I eat not till Sunday noon, when I receiv'd the

bread and wine. But when I had done all which was in my power to do, and found no relief, I was convinced salvation was not of works. No alms, or fastings, or prayers, or watchings could cover my naked soul from almighty wrath. I hated my righteousness, loath'd my prayers, and could truly say I am unprofitable, and my righteousness as filthy rags: yea, and amidst all my works such terror came upon me as made me sweat, and quake exceedingly.

"Yet in all I suffer'd I dreaded turning back into the world more than my present affliction; nay, more than the thoughts of hell; and was bent to go forward, and perish at the feet of Jesus. Accordingly for His sake, I now resolved to part with my only friend I had; having heard him openly blaspheme the Lord that bought him, and deny his God: I, therefore, wholly refrained from his company, and in a few days we became strangers to each other. This prov'd a great trial, but tho' I was often tempted thereto, I durst never heal the breach, or renew my friendship.

"When we wholly parted, and I had thrown off all thoughts of being free again, the storm so long gathering fell upon me; the arrows of the Almighty so pierced my heart, that I could not tell if I should be out of hell a moment All the sins that ever I had done were set before me; all my secret acts of uncleanness, my theft, lies, and evil words star'd me in the face, and cry'd continually Thou are the man: Thou art the soul that hast rejected God, and lo! his wrath abideth upon thee. O the torment I then endured! I hated every body I saw, but especially them of my own house. I was disobedient, and without natural affection. I said, Surely I am reprobate; God hath loved every man but me.

"To this were added trials of all kinds: my employment was to measure land with a gentleman of Reading: and in the harvest and other times of leisure, I bought things of several sorts, and sold them again retail. But now all together my business failed, my friends looked cold, and enemies increased: if any one spoke to me, it was like a sword cutting my heart; especially if they spoke sharply, all my hope, even in the present life, was taken away. I thought I must starve with hunger here, and be tormented for ever hereafter. Judge ye that read what I passed throw (sic). My own house behaved as if they knew me not, and all mine acquaintance condemn'd me; so that I even wished I had never enquired after God, nor heard of the salvation of Jesus!

"I envied now more than ever them who were fallen asleep in death: these I thought are now at rest. They know sorrow no more, their tears are wiped away, all their travail is at an end. If there were infants, or children where I was, I pitied their fate, being born into such a world; and rejoiced when I heard they were dead. Yea, when I beheld the state of insects, birds, beasts, & c. I wished I was half so happy as them, who, after a short life, remain in silence.

"Quite forlorn and destitute, finding prayers, and tears, and cries in vain, about the beginning of August, 1737, I began to resign myself, in the

midst of my distress, to the wise disposal of God. I gave up my desires, my will, and my remains of hope; being content to go down to Hell (as God should please) either in life or death.

"I waited many hours silently upon God, and if I broke silence, cried unto Jesus, to remember His blood, and tears, and sufferings; and if there was room for me in his favour to reveal it to me. I no more said, Lord remember how innocent I have lived; nor thanked Him because I was better than another; but pleaded the great oblation and sacrifice of Christ crucify'd; I intreated mercy for His sake alone. I knew my guilt, and was dumb before my God: often repeating those words of Eli, It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good.

"I was still bent to go into some solitary place, that I might there find happiness of waiting on God. Tho' I had often before been hindered, I resolv'd to try once more and fix'd for it the 7th day of September, 1737. I paid every one to whom I owed anything, intending to take a Bible and Common Prayer Book, with Hugo's Emblems: and prayed my journey might be prosperous. As I lay awake on the 6th day strange heaviness came upon me, and when I arose it continued. My mind was full of fear and trouble, and I was, I think, more dejected than ever; I purposed not withstanding to be gone before the next sun-rising. While I was sitting and reflecting thereon, the saints bell rang at St. Lawrence's Church for prayers. At first I was careless about going, but after considering what the people would say, and what they would think if I missed church when I was in town; and that it might stagger some, fearing I was negligent, or gone back, I concluded in my own breast to go. And when I was risen up, I again thought, I shall be far enough off about this time tomorrow, and I may as well forbear to go now; it is but for once, and there is no good there for me, I may as well keep my place, and be content. I sat down again, but was so uneasy, that I was obliged to get up and go. I went out like some outcast into a foreign land; my heart was ready to burst. My soul at the brink of hell, above measure disconsolate and heavy. Had any met me, my countenance would have betray'd me, as well as a low voice and tears. When I had enter'd the church, and fallen on my knees, I began murmuring (as I did often) because my cross seemed more heavy than ever was laid on anyone beside; and how untroubled all the children of God pass'd to Heaven, and how full of terror I must go down to Hell! and I was as if the sword of the Lord was dividing asunder my joints, and marrow: my soul and spirit; till near the end of the Psalms, when these words were read, Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all! And he that putteth his trust in God shall not be destitute: I had just room to think, who can be more destitute than me? When I was overwhelmed with joy, I believed there was mercy. My heart danced for joy, and my dying soul reviv'd! I heard the voice of Jesus saying, I am thy salvation. I no more groaned under the weight of sin. The fear of

hell was taken away, and being sensible that Christ loved me, and died for me, I rejoiced in God, my Saviour.

"This joy and peace in believing filled me about three or four hours; and I began to vow everlasting obedience, and how faithfully I would stand for the Lord all the days of my life. In this my prosperity I said I shall never be moved. Thou Lord hast made my hill so strong! But it was not long before He hid his face, and I was troubled. Satan was suffer'd to buffet me violently, and to suggest, where is now thy God? How do I know but this is delusion? May it not be the Lord has shewed me this as an aggravation to my torment, when I am cast away! My horrors were so great, that I sweated, pray'd, and cry'd aloud for mercy! And when I saw no help, I drank the cup which my Father had given me; and I said (submitting myself to His righteous will) If the Lord is pleased to cast me off I an content; I would willingly sit down with the saints in the kingdom: but God's will be done.

"About three days after I was sitting thoughtful in an inner room, and in the multitude of my temptations, I imagined that the dull weather might add to my grief; scarce had I thus thought e'er the Sun (which had not shone for some time) shin'd beautifully from the clouds; and the voice of God witnessed at that instant: 'Thus shall the Sun of Righteousness arise on thee'. I believed the promise, and found the love of God again shed abroad in my heart. I saw clearly the will of the Lord in calling me thro' much tribulation, and I said gladly, It is good for me that I have been in trouble.

"I felt great and settled peace daily from this time, and whenever I found temptations I pray'd, and knew always that Scripture true, God will hear them speedily, who cry day and night unto Him. When I laid me down in bed, I laid as in the everlasting arms; and when I rose in the morning the Lord was present, and often my lips have been uttering words of prayer, before I well knew whether I was sleeping, or waking."

APPENDIX B

THE DOCUMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE ORIGINAL COMING OF THE MORAVIANS TO IRELAND WITH ALL MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR LOSING SKINNER'S ALLEY MEETING HOUSE.

"*Note* regarding the origin and authorship of this document.

The original document is one of 12 pages large post quarto closely written on both sides save the last, and was in the possession of the Bristol Congregation for very many years from thence it found its way into the Fetter Lane, London, Archives and was presented by them to the Dublin Archives on Oct. 15, 1928.

The author was John Cennick as is easily shown from portion of the original memoranda from which it was prepared (in the Dublin Archives) all numbered by John Cennick showing the order in which they were to be and were transcribed.

The handwriting and numbering by John Cennick can be verified by consulting his Diary, the Bristol copy of which is at present in the temporary possession of the Rev. J. H. Blandford M.A.M.Sc. minister of the Dublin Congregation.

Memoranda referred to above.

7 letters in the handwriting of John Wesley.
2 " " " " " Samuel Edwards.
1 " " " " " John Mears.
6 copies " " " " John Cennick.
2 " " " " " William Horn.
1 " " " " " John Toeltschig.
6 " " " " " Unknown.
1 copy of lease referred to Counsel and his original replies S. Bradstreet B.L.
1 ditto. Amb. Harding B.L.
1 original printed advertisement.
1 memo. concerning a Mr. Pelham.

Chas. T. Keatinge,
Archivist.
Dublin Congregation.
Moravian Church. 1928

COPY.
An Account of the Brethrens first Coming to Ireland with all Matters Relating to their Losing Skinners Alley Meeting House.

One Mr. Antisel Tayler & another Lad came from Ireland to London and these particularly were awakened by Mr. Cennick at the Tabernacle & when he return'd to Dublin, after he had told what Doctrines & with what Effect Mr. Cennick Preached in London, he (Mr. Antisel Tayler) & many others wrote to invite the said Mr. Cennick to Dublin.

Mr. Taylers first letter to Mr. Cennick, vizt.

Dear & Loving Bro.

Dublin Augt. 13th 1745

I would have wrote to you long before now, to have let you know how I got to Dublin but thought it was better to Differ (sic.) it till I could give you some account of the situation of the People in this City which I hope will be to yr. great satisfaction.

The fourth inst I got to Parkgate at 2 o'clock on Monday being the 5th went on board Capt. Matthews & sailed from thence at one at Noon the Cabbin being taken up by the Lord Lieutenants Servants I was obliged either to continue on Deck else go into the hold, on the 7th we reached Dublin Barr about 10 o'clock in the morning & landed in Dublin at 12. where I met with my friends in Good health, the first day being a little fatigued with the Sea I did not go to see many of them. But the next day I visited, Mr. Lunell, Mr. Wilkinson and others unknown whom I found had received the truth as it is in Jesus. Last Sunday I heard one Mr. Craige who Preached in Swifts Alley Meeting House, he is but a very illiterate Man & spakes but indifferent English & some time much at a loss for Words, insomuch that he has sometimes been obliged to end his discourse with One of David's Psalms, yet notwithstanding the Meeting is thronged every time he preaches with gents who are enquiring for their Beloved with their faces Zion Wards, it is true I have had an opertunity of facing many Congregations, But in my life time I think I never saw a more attentive People, Oh that the Lord would send more of his faithfull Labourers unto this his Vineyard, for the Harvest is Great but the Labourers very few. Now my Dr. Bro. I have given you a plain Description of the Souls, before Christ I lye not, & I hope you will remember your promise to me when in London, and as Mr. Lunell and others told me, that they thought (as I had seen the hungrings and thirstings of the People for the Word), that it was my Duty to acquaint you. I have now discharged my Duty in so doing, & hope you will do so to by embrasing the Call, for shurely it is of the Lord. There are as good as I would sign their hands to this letter, but I thought it would be needless & that you'd come as soon without it.

I have shown your Book of Hymns to some here who are greatly taken

with them, if I had a dozen or so I could dispose of them, I beg you will bring 2 dozen with you, if I should not go to Parkgate that should not hinder you in the least from coming. I beg you may bring Bro. Hammond with you if possible, who I hear is Desirous of Coming & let me hear from you before you leave London. Now may the Lord God our Saviour direct your way unto us & Bless you in this & all other things which is to his Glory.

Yours Sincerely in the Lamb
ANTICEL TAYLER.

Another letter Dated Dublin Aug. 22nd 1745 was sent to late Mr. Cennick over to Ireland wrote by Wm. Mondet Gent & signed by himself John Bond Shoemake . Joseph Agitt, Laceman, Lewis Emmerson, Jonathan Binns, Trimmins Seller, Joseph Bagnell, all Baptists, & John Wallace, Linnen Draper, John Runsey, Tobacconist, John Hepburn, Master of Mathematics Presbyterians & William Moore, Merchant, Quaker.

Aug. 31. a 2nd Letter of the same kind implored him to come over to help them, signed by James Platt, Luke Mason, Joseph Bland, Schoolmaster, John Dooly, Stocking Weaver & Currier, William King, Cabinet Maker, John Burgess, Schoolmaster, Thomas Dowly, Shopkeeper, Henry Killough Do., Samuel Sherlock Brazier, all Presbyterians, John Bland, Notary Public & Wm. Dobbs, Baptist, A Weaver.

October 22nd in the same year another letter came on the same account signed by William Mondet, John Wallace, John Runse, John Hepburn, John Bland, Joseph Agitt, Lewis Emerson, William Moore, Jonathan Binns & Joseph Bagnell, Linnen Draper.

October 26th was written one more using all the expressions they could to invite him to Dublin & this was signed by J. Wallace, Hugh Smith, Merchants, Saml. Sherlock, Joseph Agitt, Will Mondett, J. Stuttfield, James McConnell, Silk throster, Eliaser White, Jon Binns, I. Bond, Hardgrave, James Harris, Daniel McCulley, Agit, Agitt, Geo. Gibson, Phillip Heyland, Jonathan Tyson, Will Tyson, Antisel Tayler, William Tayler, Archibald Mitchell, James Dowley, William King, John Burgess, John Runse, Henry Killough, William Dobbs, Joseph Bland, John Bland, James Platt, Luke Mason, John Hepburn, James Latrobe, & Benjamin Latrobe.

Besides there were several letters sent from Benj. Latrobe, Mrs. Lunell, Mundet, & on the same subject.

In June 17/16 Mr. Cennick came to Dublin and by the general consent of the Baptists had the liberty of Preaching (as often as he pleased) in an old Meeting House of theirs in Skinners Alley and when he returned to England in September Mr. Latrobe after him had the same Liberty, till the February following and then because the Trustees of the Society of the Brethren judged it better they agreed to pay for the use of the House and accordingly had Minutes made which are as follows:—

MEMORANDUM Samuel Edwards on behalf of himself and Associate Trustees agree with Joseph Adcock, Samuel Gilbert & William Grant on behalf of the Society now meeting in Skinners Alley Meeting House as follows—

First in your consideration of the repairs made in said house of which the new forms are Esteemed no part and upon the said Adcock, Gilbert & Grants, paying the Ground Rent due the 24th Decr. last pasts they shall be discharged of all rent to that time.

Secondly the said Society shall have the use and privilege of said house & the 2 little rooms adjoining it with the Passage leading thereto, but not of the Burying Ground behind the House for the Term of One Year, commencing the said 24th Decr. last past at the rent of Eight pounds over & above all taxes & assesment & charges Whatsoever ground rent only Excepted to be paid quarterly with Liberty for said Society to be free of said concerns any quarter only giving a Quarters notice before.

Thirdly That the said Edwards reserves to himself & Trustees at all times the use & Privilidge of said Burying ground & Passage thro' the house Thereto for such dead as he or they others direct to be interred, therein as also of the House itself on that Occasion that a funeral Sermon may be Preached there.

Fourthly He also reserves to himself & trustees the use & priviledge of said House at any time when the Society hath no Service there.

Fifthly the said Gilbert Adcock & Grant Bind themselves & their Heirs to keep the said premises in their present repair and pay the above mentioned ground rent already due & all the rent which shall hereafter become due & observe all other the Aforesaid Articles & in case of failure the said Edwards or Associate Trustees are hereby impowered to shue for & Recover the said Rent or Damages sustained from the said Adcock, Grant or Gilbert or any of them or their Heirs as if the same had been their own proper Debt.

Sixthly the said Adcock, Gilbert & Grant at the year end or any other dtermination of their time of holding the said premises shall peacably & in good & tenantable repair deliver up the same with all the repairs there of the said

Edwards or Associate Trustees

Signed Sealed and Delivered this 2nd day of Feby. 1746 in presence of us the indeminfication of paying the rent to Any other being first

Sam Edwards.
Joseph Adcock.
Samuel Gilbert.
William Grant.

Signed

John Wallace,
Richd. Bushell.

N.B. I indemnify the above mentioned Adcock, Gilbert & Grant from being obliged to pay their Rent over again to any person whatsoever

As Witness my hand
SAM EDWARDS.

When Mr. Cennick went to London a letter was given him directed to Count Zinzendorf and the rest of the Congregation beseeching them to hasten back Bro. Cennick etc. and this was signed by Wm. Lunell, John Hepburn, Thos. Mead, John Grant, Michl. King, Richard Bushell, William Mondet, John Wallace, Joseph Bagnell, William Moore, John Towers and Jonathan Binns.

Before Mr. Cennick returned to Dublin Mr. Williams one of the Methodists, who had some time ago been obliged to leave Mr. Wesley for slander, debts &c. came over to Ireland & pretended to be a Bro. & said he was well acquainted with & loved Mr. Cennick & by which means (altho what he said was false) he got in favor with some of the awakd. souls & began to Preach and then sent over for the Mr. Wesleys who soon after sent him Preachers to assist him, & then came themselves, in the meantime before they came Mr. Williams was in company with Mr. Sam Edwards (of whom as from a Person Employd. by the Baptist Trustees our Bro. had taken the Meeting House & took an opportunity to let him know he had arrived to get our house & accordingly told him he would be glad to give £16 a year for such a house & gave many hints that if we were out he would take it, this he did before many witnesses.

Not long after this, Our Trustees Recd. the following letter from Mr. Sam Edwards dated Oct. 1. 1747 Gent—I am directed by the Trustees for the Meeting House to acquaint you that they think £16 p.year a very reasonable rent for the House & therefore Expect that you Engage to Pay that sum on the same Conditions as before & in equally good security when your year is Expired & they think proper to give you this Early Notice that you may have time to Provide another Place if you think this Rent too Dear, in which case you are to have a reasonable allowance made you for all your improvements, they also expect your speedy answer That they may have an Opportunity of providing a good Tenant, in case you choose not to Except of their Terms.

I am, Gent, Yr humble Servt. Sam Edwards.

Please refurnish with the particulars of your improvements in case you resolve to remove.

The 6th of October our Trustees received another Letter from Mr. Sam Edwards as follows—Directed to Mr. Saml. Gilbert.

Sr. As you are a Trustee for the Society Meeting in Skinners Alley the enclosed letter is sent to you to notifie that unless I have your positive answer by Monday next consenting to the Terms proposed in the letter I must insist upon you paying the yearly rent of £16 P—When your Minute of the Meeting House is expired & I shall not be able to make you any allowance for your improvements which please to communicate to the Society. I am, Sr. Your very humble servt. Samuel Edwards.

The enclosed letter was as follows.
To the Society in Skinners Alley, Gent. My former letter signified that if you did not incline to keep the House at the yearly rent of £16 and would resolve to leave it in that Case you should have a reasonable allowance made you for all your improvements; I am obliged to add further that unless I have your possitive answ. by next Monday I must insist upon your paying that Rent & shall not be able to make you any allowance at all. You cant As I apprehend complain of the least injustice since I am faithfully & fairly persuing my trust in getting what I apprehend will be allowed to be a reasonable rent for the House & at the same time leave you at Equal Liberty. I am, Yr. H.S. Sam Edwards.

After the Receiving of the above letter Bros. Cennick, Latrobe & Grant Jr. waited on Mr. Saml Edwards & offered him £12 P. Ann. in the Name of the Society & at the same time put him in mind of their great Expenses in repairing said meeting house but to no purpose he insisting that he had been offered & could get £16 P. Ann. for said House & that from Mr. Wesleys People, when they found that all their efforts with regard to their getting the Meeting house upon the above Terms were in vain we resolved upon nothing but got many of our friends to use all their endeavours still to obtain his consent & because Mr. Cennick had promised him an answer soon & the Trustees could not easily resolve upon any thing he wrote as follows—
Skinners Alley Oct. 22. 1747.
Dr. Sr. You must not take it amiss our delay to give you a possative answer because something in your proposalls yet seem hard & cannot so easily be complyed with which has been the Reason why those who acted for us choose rather to hear the minds of the other trustees and conferr friendly with them or see it under their hands what is their Resolution.

If it were possible I wish you would desire them to be together an hour & let 2 or 3 of our friends meet them & you, & hear each other & come to some agreement, in the meantime I assure you it not obstinsey or some Design we have in by our Silence in Relation to Answer you, but at present we can come to no Conclusion & believe the most Effectual method To make all partys happilly easy would be to confer together as proposed & I have sent you enclosed an account of what is found to be expended on the Meeting House & on the Dwelling House tho the many Articles are forgot & no notice taken of some payments, please to consider of the whole & we desire you not to be hasty or dissatisfied till matters are made easy—I am, Yr assured & very H.S. John Cennick.

At the same time Mr. Cennick wrote to Mr. Edwards the Baptist Minister as follows—
Rev. & Dear Sir. October 22nd 1747

My reason for troubling you with this is on account of some letters from Mr. Saml Edwards to our Brn warning us to leave the Meeting House on the

21 Decr. next or agree to pay £16 P. ann. But I myself have spoke to them after the recd. of the letter friendly but have found them to all aperance determined to prosecute his purpose that he may do justice to the Trustees he says by getting as much for it as he can, I desired him to allow me time to Write to my friends in London if we should agree to his Terms or quietly leave the House & my reason for Desiring such leave to write was because I had conferred with the Principle People who are with us here. But found now determined that to do because on one hand they thought it was unjust to have the Rent raised so suddenly after so much money had been laid out on the Meeting & which would not been laid out had not Mr. Wm. Tayler & many others ashured our Brn they were safe on and of any danger which they hinted might come of this kind & the meeting any one knows was badly out of repair & not tenantable till we took it, & for the convenience of the meeting they took the House adjoining at £5 P. ann. & laid out upwards of £20 in fitting up & repairing the same, & on the other hand they did not know if the trustees had done this jointly, or if they did approve of it for which reasons Mr. Edwards had not yet had his answer & cannot till somewhat further is done by the trustees to bring our Bro to some resolution. I know dear Sr. if it had been left to you we should have enjoyed it peaceably at the first rent but now we wish you would be pleased to do so much for us as only to speak with the trustees & lay the whole matter before them in as favourable a light as you can & desire them either to send their mind in writing signed with their hands & Mr. Edwards hand and come to some Conference with our Bro over the whole and then they will give their finall answer & conclude upon something, there has been expended on the Meeting £36.5.1 & on the Dwelling house upwards of £19—of which I have sent you a copy of the Particular Articles & another to Mr. Edwards, if you will be so kind as to lay this before the Trustees & can by any means get them to condescend to come to some mild terms, tho we gave somewhat more than the present Rent we should be glad & will think ourselves very much obliged to you & in the mean I ashure you I am very dear Sr Yr Affect Friend & Bro in Xc John Cennick.

If you would send a line in answr. it would make your favour the greater.

As our Trustees know not what yet to resolve on & could not be content to loose all their repairs & pay £16 P. ann. besides nor yet were willing to resign the House, Mr. Cennick strove again by another letter to bring Mr. Edwards to comply to some terms in a friendly way & wrote as follows—

Skinner Alley Dec. 13, 1747

Dr Sr.

You may justly blame me in particular because I have not given you yet an answer about the holding or resigning the meeting house But when I ashured you our trustees were not resolved you will Excuse me the more easily. I have wrote to the Revd Bro Edwards twice & spoke with him as

often to desire him if by any means he could bring the trustees of his Congregation to be more mild in their Terms & to lay before them our Vast Expense & how unfair it must be for them to make us pay such a Rent as £16 P.Ann. & knew we had laid out so many pounds in repairing & adorning necessarily the Meeting I offered in the name of our Trustees £12 P.ann. & desired he would mention that & from his answer I purposed giving you yours but he not returning an answer of any thing resolved on hindered us till now, so much I write that you may know our only reason for Disappointing you in your Answer & now I only can say we have indeed asked advice of two Councellors of this City about holding the House, it is out of doubt we can keep it and pay no more than our former yearly rent & neither is it certain if you could Eject us unless you pay us back what we or both can asert to have been laid out in the necessary repairs & beside forcing your Trustees to show they are impowered to Act Legally & then theirs & others Tittles all the expense of this an Attorney offered before many Witnesses to bear only if we would under hand allow him £10 & then he would secure us the house for 20 years.

If we had a mind to use this Opertunity & treat you as you have treated us we should have no further trouble then to have paid you our Rent & keep Legall Possession, but this I never will consent to, on the Contrary our Trustees shall pay you at the Quarters end & deliver up the Minutes & house peacebly & if afterwards those Baptists who are with us keep the possession, at present I have not the least mind to Preach in it & you & they shall be left to make it out.

Now Sir if you only recollect before God & your own conscience the intent of letting us the House, the satisfaction you had in our laying out upwards of 70£ on the account & judge you if we are well used or if it be in Equity reasonable or just or human. I wish after all you would let our Trustees have a Meeting with you in love and (if you would) come to an amicable agreement & they will raise rent 4£. Tomorrow we have a conference where at I should be glad to receive a line from you & conclude the whole. Those I ashure you are the resolutions we have & will only be altered by your agreeing to the most reasonable terms in the World.

I am Yr M.S. John Cennick.

If you write please to send it before 12 o'clock.

All we could do by these offers & by all other means was yet ineffectual & accordingly in the beginning of November he published the following Advertisement.

As the time for which the Society Meeting in Skinners Alley (the followers of Mr. Cennick commonly called Moravians) held the Meeting House in that Place, will end the 24th Decr. next proposals will be taken for setting the House by Samuel Edwards Schoolmaster in Golden Lane.

When because his authority to Print such an advertisement was questioned the following advertisements was printed by the only surviving trustee for said Meeting house.

Whereas an advertisement in Print was some time since published and pasted up in the City of Dublin & Libertys of Thomas Court & Donore Signed Saml Edwards for setting a house not then untenable the said house still being in Debate among a society of people claiming a Lawful Right from the first Original Deeds & Trust, of whom I am 1 in behalf of many others Do hereby give Notice no person presume to take said house until the Differences be decided by Law or otherwise.

Signed this 28the Dec. 1747.
JOHN MEARS.

N.B. The said John Mears also having receive cruel unjust and unprecedented usage, he being forcibly and unlawfully put into the Kings Prison without any Cause of Action, and there detained three whole Days, designs to seek for Relief as the heinousness of the crime will appear, when more fully explained, as no Caption or Crimnal could hold said Mears legally.
(he being a Prisoner at large).

When Mr. Edwards found all men Blame him for this unjust treatment of us & Bro Mears he published a tale of the Case which was absolutely false in many respects & what was truth was related unfairly, see the copy of the Printed case instituted.
The case of Skinners Alley Meeting House in a letter to a friend.

Dublin Jan. 12. 1747

Sir,

Mr. Cennicks Tenants having exceedingly misrepresented the case of Skinners Alley Meeting House, I must beg you to suspend your Judgement till you have read the following true relation of facts, which I send you at the particular request of some friends, for your satisfaction & in justice to myself & the Gentlemen concerned with me.

In June 1746 Messrs. Mundet & A Tayler aplyed to me who am one of the Trustees of that Meeting House, for the Baptist Society to have the loan of it for a few days for Mr Cennick to preach in & engaged to deliver it up safe & Good Order, sometime after I had agreed to this request, finding a Body of People settling the House & that it received Damage by the crowds, I wrote to the above Gent, to procure in security to make good any damage the house had or might sustain & to pay me half a guinea a week during Pleashure, In Jan. 7. 1746 at the instance of friends I wrote to the Society of Moravians signifying that I had a Power to set the House, & was perswaded they could not be so unreasonable to Expect to have it without paying Rent & offered to get it to them for a 11 guineas a year & to make them a reasonable allowance for their improvements to that time But at the particular of my good friends Messrs Coats, Bagnell, Ernot, & V & F. T. Taylor, I was prevailed upon to get the Moravian Trustees Messrs. Gilbert, Adcock, & Grant, the use of the House for £8 for one year to commence Dec. 24. 1746 & settled with them for their improvements to that time & entered into an Article which I have now

in my hands in which there is this Covenant That if the Society think fit to quit the Concerns any quarter before the year was Expired they should have Liberty to do it only giving a Quarters Notice before & that at the Years end or any other determination of their time, they shall peaceably & in good & tenantable repair deliver up the same to me or my associate trustees with all the Repairs there of. This article was added as a caution to them not to lay out more money in asmuch as the Trustees might think propose to use the House, & did not like to be numbered with expenses arising from alterations & improvements Arising without their consent. But Mr. Cennicks friends laid out money on the Concerns without ever consulting the trustees upon a supposition (as I apprehend) that their interest among the Baptists would leave them the House independant of the Trustees. But Mr. Cennicks friends reflected on him as tho he intended to bring them under difficultys he resolved to advise them to nothing further & accordingly the Changes they afterwards made were of their own Contriving, the ground on which the House stands, I am per-swaded cannot be got so near the city for four pounds a year nor so convenient a House be built for less than £200 & we have laid out upon it above £50 very lately, therefore at £6 p.c. Interest it is worth more than £16 p. Year this Rent the Trustees all agreed was a reasonable Rent & therefore I told Mr. Cennick's people in a letter which I sent them first Oct. last We expected they would pay it & in case they were disatisfied with it, & would remove to some other place I offered to make them a reasonable allowance for all their improvements & as they had taken an apartment adjoining the House, I designed if they thought proper to take this also of their hands & pay them their expenses. I recd. no answer to this letter therefore wrote them a second, dated the 6th October & desired their positive answer in 6 days but I could not obtain it, about a fortnight after I complained of their neglect to Mr Ben Latrobe & there upon received a letter from Mr Cennick upon which I waited on him & showed him a Paper signed by my fellow trustees whereby I was impowered to proceed where upon he Himself appointed to give me their final Resolution by Monday the 2nd Nov. last & I told him in Case he did not I should think myself quite at liberty as to any preference which I intended then but I heard nothing from him nor his friends in the time limitted, upon this I advertised that I would let the House at the expiration of their Term & would take proposals for that purpose & soon after was fully convinced from a number of circumstances & the plainest (Viz:—From several of themselves by Mr Cennicks letter in my hands & because they never came up to the terms proposed them) intimations that a scheme was formed to deprive the Baptists of their property in the House. Their chief plea was that Mr John Mears who was formerly indeed a Trustee but resigned his trust in the Year 1736 was still the only true surviving Trustee & said Mears has been so weak as to fancy himself a Trustee tho he has made a regular & legal conveance of his trust under his hand and seal with the full consent & directions of the Society of

Baptists for whom the House was built & to whom it belongs, the Society of Baptists therefore concluded it was necessary to insist on a surrender of their meeting house & accordingly application was made to Mr Cennick & the Trustees (The words of Mr. Cennicks letter are Our Trustees shall pay you at the quarters end & deliver up the Minutes & House peacebly) & they promised & seemed ready to surrender the house as far as lay in them, but spoke of some Moravians who had been (who had been Baptists) designing to keep possession of the house Upon considering the affair it was thought proper that two men of their number (& we could only reckon on 5 men in all) should be removed as they were men of a violent temper and one of them had threatened to bring Pistols to secure possession of our house, the other Mr Mears being then actually in confinement & only enlarged by the kind interposition of his friends, it was thought Expedient to deliver him up to Confinement again for a few Days to prevent mischief (We defrayed the expenses of this Confinement & also offered him money in it which he refused) after which on the 24 of Decr. last the trustees of the House went to receive possession according to Agreement but being opposed by three men & as many Women caused them to be taken out with all the Gentleness their obstenacy would possibly admit of without our giving one single Blow, or admitting a Blow to be given by others. Nor did any one of them receive the least hurt only a Turbulent Youth who in the first hurry of entrance collered the Constable & thereupon received from him a tap or two of his small Pocket staff.

For the facts here related unexceptionable proof can be produced, please therefore to Judge whether a few persons of any society in case they continued firm to the society & much less when they are engaged in another interest to the great prejudice of their own, have the best reasonable place for oposing not only the Trustees of the Society but the Greatest Part of their Brethren, whether it be just or reasonable, Christian humaine in them to endeavour by all possible means to deprive us of our property.
I am Sir, your very humble servant Samuel Edwards.
P.S. Notwithstanding the fierce opposition and gross misrepresentation of the Moravians, we are still ready to do them all the justice we are able, I should rather say good offices for strictly speaking they can claim nothing.

Then because things were set forth in so unjust a light Bro Cennick (& others) wrote a simple & true state of the case as follows—

In the year 1744 Mr Antisel Tayler & another from Dublin came to hear Mr Cennick Preach at the Tabernacle in London & after he had staid there some months at his fathers request (which he showed Mr Cennick) who advised him to return back which he did in the summer following 1745 to Ireland & by means of this letter & others in conversation with the Baptists & others; about him and his Preaching; many of the Baptists unanimously agreed to write over for him & accordingly many letters were sent & 2 signed by more

than 40 persons mostly Baptists among whom were—Mr Benjamin La Trobe a Young student & preacher, Mr. Jos. Agill, Mr. Jos. Bagnell, Mr. Wm. Lunsell, Mr James La Trobe, Mr Wm Mondet, Mr William Taylor, Mr Antisel Tayler, Mr. Joan. Binns & in these letters which Mr Cennick has still by him, they prepared him in the most hearty manner to come over & ashured him of a place to Preach in belonging to the Baptists & that nothing should be wanting for his reception this Grant of Skinners Alley Meeting House was given by Mr Samuel Edwards & the whole Baptist Congregation—He would have come over in the year 1745 but contrary winds hindered him at that time, a fortnight at Parkgate & Holyhead, he returned to London but wrote over he intended to come the Christmas following which was again prevented by the going into Germany to visit the Congregation of the Bros. while he was there he was sent to again desiring he would come to Ireland—according to his promise, they having got the Meeting House & strengthened the Gallerys for his use, at so much importunity in June 1746 he came over he was received by far the greater part of the Baptists, both their Ministers giving him their Testimonys that he was sent of God, & both together with the aforesaid Gent & many more gave him all the encouragement he could wish or desire & even consented he should (at his asking for it) have the use of their Larger meeting in Swift Alley but being opposed by some of their Members they all consented in several Vestrys, he and his friends should be undisturbed in Skinners Alley & when Mr Saml Edwards seemed to look upon that house as his property & demanded half a guinea a week if they held it, at another Vestry held on that account they were granted the full use of it without any Limitation, only that they should make good the damages which might be done by the Vast concourse of People assembling there.

At the time we were lent the meeting house it was partly gone to decay, the windows were shattered, the Pews very weak & some quite down, the Boards in many places in holes and rotten, the ceiling hanging very dangerously above & full of open places where the mortar etc. was fallen away, somethings were done towards the repairs, before Mr Cennick left this in the end of the same year at which time many of Mr Cennicks friends of the Baptists among whom were Mr Bagnell, Mr Mundet, Mr Lunell, Mr Binns, & with many others of Different Religions wrote & signed a letter to the Bro & addressed it to the Right Revd Lewis Zinzendorf to intreat them to send back again Mr Cennick speedily & this letter was written & signed in Aungier Street & given to Mr Cennick to deliver to the Brn in London. But after Mr Cennick was gone many pounds were laid out in improving & mending the Meeting House, the Society having provided trustees, got a minute from Mr Sam Edwards who was to act for the Baptists, to hold the House for one year certain at the rent of Eight pounds, but before half the time was expired with advice of Mr Wm Tayler a Deacon of the Congregation of Baptists Mr W. Lunell, Mr James La Trobe & several others of the said Congregation the

Trustees for the Brn laid out upwards of 40£ in repairing and making convenient the Meeting House, being ashured by the aforesaid Gentlemen they had no need to fear their being to obliged to quit it against their minds, but if they left it in 5 years Mr Tayler said they should engage the whole of what they had laid out in that repairs should be returned & if they left it in ten years they should have the half returned.

Under such encouragement our Society took the House joyning the Meeting, & laid out upwards of £20 in opening a way out of it into the Meeting House & repairing & improving the House & at that time no one so much as hinted to the Brethren trustees that they should have it but for one year, on the contrary Mr Saml. Edwards himself encouraged them & gave them a lead gutter to help in their repairs All things went on well untill Mr Williams came to Dublin who being in company with Mr Edwards at Mr Powells in Crane Lane he asked Mr Edwards what yearly rent he had for Skinners Alley Meeting he answered 8£ upon which Mr Williams replyed "O" that is too little it is worth £16 I would be glad to give £16 P.ann. for such a place, from this time Mr Edwards began to hint to our Trustees that he expected £16 rent for the house after the year was expired or that they must quit it, this indeed surprised all who heard it and both Mr Cennick & Mr Ben La Trobe & others spoke with Mr Edwards urging the injustice of raising the rent after so much money had been expended & desired he would not insist upon having so much. But his answer was "I am offered so much & I give you the preference & if you send me your answer in such a time you shall be allowed somewhat in reason for the necessary repairs but if I have no answer by that time you must expect to be allowed nothing for your Repairs." Bro Cennick begs leave only to write to London for the Bros advice but by a note Mr Edwards refused to wait for their answer & so between the hurry, surprise and shortness of time no positive answer was given. Only they treated with Mr Abdial Edwards (their pastor) & desired him to offer them £12 P.ann. & if possible get them who acted to give their consent to the purpose Mr Cennick also wrote after Mr Edwards the Minister had proposed 12 pounds in their Vestry & desired by two letters to have a meeting with the Trustees of Swift Alley & agree amicably & Proposed again £12 to Mr Saml Edwards but all being ineffectual in a Conference of our Brn, we thought it best being threatened & compelled thereto to give up our Minute & pay our Rent which our Trustees did on Thursday 24th December.

In the meantime while the Brethrens Trustees were gone to Deliver up the Minute, they who were Baptists & for Loving and being united to the Brn had been so ill treated by their own People that they thought themselves in danger of being excluded from their meeting & of having no place to assemble in & knowing at the same time, that as Baptists they had a right to both Meeting Houses.

By joynt consent of many & with the authority of a letter of Attorney

from Mr John Mears (the only surviving legal trustee) they were resolved to take possession of Skinners Alley Meeting House & keep it until the Church in Swift's Alley had heard their complaints & either help them or decided Matters to their contents but without any design to give it to the Brn to keep it as their own property further then if they were forced to seperate from the other Baptists they might not be altogether destitute of a Place of Public Worship.

Accordingly Mr Mundet & Mr Binns abode in the Meeting House and about 10 o'clock came Mr Samuel Edwards, Mr Eleazer White & His son, Mr Edwards Bros Usher & Apprentice, Mr Emot, Mr Stokes, Mr Frances Tayler, Mr Bagnell, a constable & many others, partly fellows hired out of the streets by Mr Saml Edwards for that purpose and demanded entrance which they within refused letting them know by what authority they acted, however after some invective language against the Brn & then they violently broke in upon them by bursting open the doors & then rushing up to the Pulpitt they fell upon Mr Johnathan Binns in the most cruel & unchristian manner, several of them took him by the collor at the same time and when he asked them by what Power they so used him Mr Parkes the constable told him 'I'll show you dog by what Authority' struck him severall times on his head with his Pocket Staff & another beat his hands when he endeavoured to save himself by holding on the sides of the Pulpit & at last with all their mights threw him head long down the Pulpitt stairs upon his back & beheaved with the utmost Violence & inhumanity. The rest were used little better, the noise being heard all over the neighbourhood.

As Mr Edwards & his men entered they seized the key of Mr Cennicks outer door locked it & denied his friends entrance till he desired the neighbours without to acquaint the Majestrates or brake open the door. Afterwards at Mr Edwards Request Mr Cennick granted him leave to lodge a door case in the wall of his house to fix up a door between his house and meeting house, promising to give him all the Liberty of entering without Molestation of his outer door which they did & Mr Emos without any Provocation struck Mr Cennick on the face and many other insults were offered him.

After this they forced Mr Wm Linford out of the place & then draged Mr Jonathan Binns out & Mr Wm Mondet & forced open the door of the Vestry upon his wife & carried her out in the same forsible manner after they had so hurt & frightened her that she was obliged to keep her bed the day following, a Daughter of the Trustee was treated in the same manner and tho not beat yet impudently hauled out by the Ruffians & having thus in the most illegal & rude manner taken possession they intrusted it in the hands of a strong Guard armed & had them kill whoever offered to enter forcibly & give them Law afterwards.

This is a true state of the case and can be attested by those persons whose names are herein mentioned & many others.

Copys of this were given to severall others who desired to be informed of the truth of the whole affair & one Mr Cennick gave to Mr Chas Wesley but before he gave it to him, at a time when he was disapointed of meeting with him (which Mr Chas Wesley desired) Bro Cennick wrote as follows—

Jan. 23rd 1748/9

Dear Sir,

I have appointed to visit a sick person near the Barracks & cannot be with you at the time you desire me with convenience. I suppose youd speak with me about Skinners Alley Meeting house of which I can say nothing satisfactory & have met & spoke with the Gentleman who act in that affair many times in vain. Of them I neither can expect favour & Justice because their beheavour has convinced me they are men of no faithfullness or honesty & as they would answer it before the Lord as I would have them act & that is the highest favour, if it may be deemed one, I would desire of them. You may be ashured that it was at the desire of the Chiefs of the Baptists & after they knew I belonged to the Brn that came to Dublin & had the grant of the Meeting house publicly from their congregation & had verbal asshurance from a great part, if not from the Greatest part that we had never be put out of possession against our Will also (foolish as we are) we should have scarce laid out near £80 for a house which we could enjoy but for one year I don't think Mr Williams first nor you now act Privilly but if you are clear in your conscience you may take it, only I will be no means be answerable for the consequence, I am yours affectionally in the Blood of the Son of God. Jon Cennick.

By the first opportunity I will send you a true state of the case Soon after he gave him the state of the case as above and asked him at the same time if he had taken the house or any of his Preachers (one of the latter) Mr Perrinot said he would preach under Essex Bridge before he would preach in it, & Mr C Wesley ended giving an answer directly but yet desired ineffect his taking it tho' then it was gone to far & that Mr Perrinot had promised to sign the Writings etc. all which were drawn & were actually signed within a short time afterwards.

Some of the Methodists who knew of Mr Wesleys beheavour in this respect blamed him much for his unsimple conduct & told him they would never enter Skinners Alley House if he took it.

This was accompanied with much murmuring in their societys that Mr Wesley more than once denied the taking of the house & said they never would preach in it & after this they told Bro Cennick privately & all publicly that they would have nothing to do with the matter till Bro Cennick was satisfied or if they did take it they would deliver it up to him as soon as they had it in their power to do so. Soon after this Mr John Wesley came to Dublin & after reading Bro Cennick state of the case & hearing how much his people

were offended that Mr Perrinot contrary to his word had taken Skinners Alley Meeting House he wrote to Bro Cennick Vix—March 14. 1748.
My dear Bro. I have heard much since I came to Dublin of the affair of Skinners Alley, I am unwilling to do anything which may appear contrary to brotherly love & therefore if you desire it & can procure Mr Edwards consent I am willing to give up the house into your hands this day. I wish you much light and love of God & am your affectionate Bro John Wesley.

Skinners Alley,
14th March 1747/8

Dear Sir,

A few hours ago I read your kind note & thank you heartily for the favour. I ashure you sincerely that in the matter of Skinners Alley House some of the Baptists & particularly Mr Saml Edwards have wronged us & it is out of doubt if Mr Williams has not told Mr Edwards he would be glad to give £16 P. year for such a house, we had this day enjoyed it as before, that account or state of the case which I gave your Bro is simply true & will be found so in that day I don't choose to consult Mr Edwards any more about the matter, because I apprehend he has not now any authority to let the House or to do any thing in it till your term is expired, but if you are not easy in your mind about it as I believe you cannot nor indeed am I for their sakes who have laid out so much money in the House and are deprived of their improvements, tho my conscience I am contented before God for my own sake & you offer to assign over your leave to me I will take it, to make you and them easy & pay your expenses or what charges you have been at in procuring your lease.

If you have not read the paper I gave your Brother I wish you would & thereby you will be sensible how much our People have laid out & the circumstances of the hole in order and then you will judge the better how to conclude.

I ask only that you act in nothing contrary to Brotherly love as you wrote & for conscience sake & then as you determine before Him whose you & we are and to whom belong all the Souls shall make quite easy and satisfyed your very affectionate Bro.

John Cennick.

COPY

Ship Street,
March 14. 1747/8

My Dear Brother,

You say true, Mr Edwards has not now any authority to let that House. What I Desire is, To Do as I wou'd be done to, with as little Noise as possible.

I am ready just now, and thor'ly willing to put you into possession of the House. I am only in doubt, which is the most Inoffensive Method of doing it: And whether it wou'd not be best, to delay a few Days; But in this also I shall be glad to be advised.

I salute you and Yours in the Lord & our Dear Brother Teltschig & am
Your Affectionate Friend & Brother
JOHN WESLEY.

COPY

Skinners Alley, March 15. 1747/8

Very Dear Sir,

I like your proposal of doing all with as little noise as possible, & am heartily sorry that any has been made at all, but I am inocent in this respect because it was from beginning to end a grief to my Heart, & in all I was resolv'd to commit of whole into his hands who rules all things well & be still.

Whatever now you think best to be done & most inoffensive I will approve off, & to make all things easy, will be even as your own Heart, nor have I Ye least against delaying it a few days, or doing any thing wch might end the affair Ye most agreably & happily Our Dr Brother Teltschig salues you affectionately & so does your loving & tender Bro.

J. CENNICK.

Copy of letter to Mr J. Wesley.

Cork St. March 26. 1748

My dear Bro

Till the winds serves for Mr Perrinot and my brother to sail I shall have more incumbrance on my hand when this is over the sooner our little affair is dispatched the more agreeable a good deal to me. Mr Perrinot has made over the 3 years lease to me so that now I think nothing hinders my doing what I see good I know indeed many will blame me.

But I cannot help that I have only to clear my conscience in the sight of God, May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be ever with your Spirit & with all that are near and dear to you.

I remain, your most affectionate bro. J. Wesley.

COPY

Cork Street, March 26. 1748

My dear Brother,

Has Mr Cennick left any Orders with you, concerning the House in Skinners Alley? If he has, if he is of the same mind, I am ready to do as I said to day. If he has altered his mind I design to preach there my self next week. I am

Your Loving Brother,
JOHN WESLEY.

I expected to have heard from him before he left Ireland.

To Bro Teltschig.
Note. Original not forthcoming
Copied from John Cennicks memo.

COPY

Skinners Alley,
March 26th 1748

Sr

Mr Cennick has left no Orders with me concerning Skinners Alley. As far as I know he is of the same mind as he was then, when he wrote to you. And as I myself do not chuse to meddle in that affair, I should like it Better, if you wou'd send your Opinion about it to London, who will not fail to let you know his mind.

I am,
Sr
Your humble Servant,
JOHN Teltschig.

To J. Wesley.

COPY

Cork Street,
March 29. 1748

My Dear Brother,

I don't think Mr. Cenick has used me well. He ought to have let me hear from him, before he left the Kingdom. It would have been only Common Civility, to say nothing of Brotherly Love.

Since he has left all things undetermined (whether on purpose or no, I leave to the Searcher of Hearts) my Conscience is satisfied, and I think it wd not be right to let the House lie empty any longer. I therefore Design to preach there tomorrow But whenever Mr. Cenick will indemnify me as to the Bonds and Covenants I am under, I will relinguish it to him at a Months Warnings. I am

Yr affectionate Brother
J. WESLEY.

To Mr. Teltschig.

COPY

Skinners Alley March 29/1748

Sr

Mr. Telteschig received yours last night, Mr. Cennick has surely let you know his mind concerning Skinners Alley House before he left the Kingdom, which his own letters to you will be a sufficient proof of Mr Teltschig acquainted you in his last that he did not chuse to meddle in this affair with you, altho' you speak in your letter Several times about Conscience and how you only have to clear it in the sight of God which expression shows plainly that it was then a matter of Conscience to you and that something Acted unfairly had disturbed your Breast. Now in your last to Mr Teltschig you say, Since he (Mr Cennick) has left all things undetermined my conscience is satisfied.

How can that be? Did you not advise him to Delay it for a few Days to which he agreed willingly, and waited only for an Opertunity when you should think proper to proceed.

But the hour for his Setting out for England being come, he cou'd not stay any longer, but Mr Telteschig desired you in his first letter wou'd write to him about it, who wou'd not fail to let you know his mind, we shou'd think that if you had a mind to Act fairly in the matter you shou'd have waited at least ten Days longer in which time you might have had a full answer from him from London.

Now, dear Sr, what has satisfied your conscience and what has cleared your conscience in the Sight of God? that you now can have freedom. In your conscience to go and preach in the house before you had settled the matter with Mr Cennick, the above ascerted reason can't satisfie your conscience. Mr Cennick setting out for London can't be a reason to clear your conscience in the Sight of God your own heart will tell you that Plain enough, Did not Mr Cennick tell you in his first and second letters he would take the House in Order to ease your conscience and to satisfie the People which had laid out so much money. Why did you not settle that affair with Mr Cennick before you went to preach in the house which you cou'd not preach in a fourtnight agoe for conscience sake how is it that you can do it now, how can you venture to take Gods name in your mouth, and to ask upon God in a house at which time your own conscience must tell you that you have taken the house over peoples heads.

In your opinion if you had the least feeling of God and Jesus Love in your heart you cou'd not do it except you had first made up the matter with Mr Cennick and the people.

Concerning the Months Warning which you now in your last letter to Mr Teltschig Require it appears as if you was but equivocating with me

Signed JONATHAN BINNER AND
WILLIAM MONDET.

COPY

Skinners Alley
April 14. 1748

Sr

The enclosed I received from Mr Cennick who desired me to send it you. Mr. Horne is now with me in Skinners Alley, who will supply Mr Cennick's Place in treating the Affair with you concerning the Meeting House there, And receive the Lease of you for Mr Cennicks, Mr Horne only waits for the Time and Place you'll appoint to meet with him. As concerning the Months Warning you require it is thought there is no occasion for it, since Mr Cennick has all along declared himself willing to take the House. But how ever if it does not suit with you to part with it in less than a Month we are willing to wait so long.

I am,
Sr
Your humble Servt.
J. TELTSCHIG.

To J. Wesley.

COPY

London April 2. 1748

My dear Br Wesley.

Yesterday I recd. a letter from Bro Teltschig wherein he desired to know if I am of the mind about taking the House in Skinners Alley, that he may answer you, who (he said) have wrote again to him about it. I don't know that you had the least Reason to think otherwise, nor have I altered my Mind, but waited for you to appoint the Time, & I was ready to consent, as I said before, to do any Thing which might ease your Mind & do Justice, so far as Justice can be now done to those injured people who have repared the House—

Our Bro. Horne is in Dublin, if you please to make the Assignment to him, it is the same as if I was present.

I am
Your affectionate Bro.
J. CENNICK.

To John Wesley.

COPY

Cork Street, Apr. 16. 1748

Sr

A Warm letter, subscribed by Mr Binus & you, was given me the Evening before I left Dublin. The most material Part of it ran thus 'Why did you not settle That Affair with Mr Cennick before you preached in the House which you cd not preach in a fortnight ago, for Conscience sake' Have patience I will tell you why. I did not settle that Affair with Mr. Cennick before he went away, because I heard not one Word of his going, till he was gone. Otherwise it was my full Design to have settled it then, which might have been done in a few hours time. I did not preach in the house a fortnight before because I was determin'd not to preach there till I sh'd have made Mr Cennick one more offer as I thought Brotherly Love required, but after I had done this & he appear'd to me (comparing his behaviour to me with his Words to others) to trifle & put me off I cd not in conscience delay preaching There any longer, the faults lay at his door & I now conceiv'd myself to be clear in the sight of God & Man tho I shl. never have made him another offer of the place at all.

You go on 'How can you venture to take God's name in your Mouth & to call upon God in a house, at wch time your own Conscience must tell you, that you have Ye house over Peoples heads & It is our opinion if you had the least feeling of God's love in your Heart, you cd not do it. I suppose it is your

opinion, but I stand before a higher Judge.

You intirely mistake my motive of acting, I never look'd upon the taking this House, as the taking it over peoples Heads for it was advertis'd & you positively refused to take it. This was not yr ground for my scruple, but I desired to do as I wd be done to And I have done so, to the best of my knowledge. Lord what I know not teach then me.

That I added, after all, I am still ready if it shall be required to relingquish it a Months Warnings you ought to have acknowledged as a fresh & signal proof, both of Uprightness and Brotherly kindness

JOHN WESLEY.

Cork Street,

April 16th 1748

My dear Brother,

In my last letter I said 'Whenever Mr Cennick will indemnify me, as to yr Bonds & Covenants, I am under, I will relingquish it (the house in Skinner's Alley) to him at a Months Warning.

I say so still. There has not yet been any stop on my Part, neither shall be.

By your letter of the fourteenth instant I learn (as well as by Mr Cennicks enclosed therein) That Mr Horne has Authority from Mr Cennick, To treat with me concerning it; Who, you say 'only waits for the Time & Place I shall appoint to meet with me'

I will be ready at Mr Watts in Park Street, at Six on Monday morning, to show Mr Horne what Bonds & Covenants I am under. And as soon as I am legally indemnified therefrom, I will put the House into his Hands.

The People at your Society hurst themselves only by the Many Untrue & Unkind Words which they continually utter, concerning

Your still loving

Tho much injured Brother

JOHN WESLEY.

To Mr Telteschig, in
Skinners Alley,

Skinners Alley 20th Apl. 17

Sir

I have now according to Yr desire waited till an arbritation should be made about the Expenses of Skinners Alley Meeting House & two of the Societys went to Mr. Edwards to Propose references to him Mr Edwards rejected the first proposal but accepted the 2, as undeniable But 2 days after he rejected him also without assigning any sufficient Reason thereby Demonstrating, that their mind was not to have the matter impartially arbitraded & therefore it is thought best to drop it I thought proper to acquaint you according to Yr desire & if youl appoint a time & place I shall meet you to Receive an assignment of the lease from Mr Cennick—

I am,

Yours H.S.

WM. HORNE.

COPY

Cork Street,
April 22. 1748

My Dear Brother,

Mr Meritan Designs to call upon Mr Edwards to morrow, and try whether he will accept of you for Tenants. If he will, I shall be free from all Incumbrances, and you will have the House by a Common Lease. If he will not, it will not hinder me; But I will meet you, if you please at Mr. Watts at Six on Monday Morning. I am

Your Affectionate Brother,
J.WESLEY.

Skinners Alley 27th April 1748

To Mr. Horne.
Sir,

I have now waited on you three times according to your Appointment in order to receive from you an Assignment of the Lease of Skinners Alley Meeting House which you wrote you would put into my Hands as soon as you was indemnified in Regard to the Bonds & Covenants you was under & which I offered to do as Mr Cennicks agent you then deferred the matter by desiring us to get an Arbitration made of the Expenses of the House first where in you owned we had been much wronged & ought to have Justice done This we also complyed with, tho' not of Choice, knowing that nothing was liking to come out of it or if it was only delaying the Matter, Nos since it proved accordingly & Mr Edwards rejected publicly the Referres proposed with which you was acquainted in my letter so also that we should now drop the Arbitration, I find by the Message you sent last night that you seek further to delay the Assignment of the Lease by resoliciting Mr Edwards again for an Arbitration & at a time when you are going into the Country Now your Motive of proceeding this cannot be our interest because so far from our deserving it that we had signified directly the contrary, consequently it must be either to retard the Assignment of the Lease & if possible find out some specious pretence on keeping the House or else to cover that apparent injustice which the society have received from you or yours. As I expect to leave this Kingdom in a few days & probably shall not have an opportunity of seeing you again for the present I therefore thought proper & candidly to mention to you my sentiments of this affir as an impartial person, not by any means as making unkind Reflections but rather to discharge I think my Duty. It is too apparent that any of your preachers viz Mr Williams has been the Root of all the trouble and injury which the Skinners Alley Society have sustained in regard to the Meeting House there, by his intimating to the Baptists that the house was worth double the rent that they viz the Society gave for it & that this was not spoken inadvertently but with Design to get the house from them is mani-

fested by another of the preachers Mr Perrinot taking house afterwards & giving double the rent at the time when Mr Cennick had sent your Brother Charles a full State of the Case, you taking the Lease of Mr Parrinot evidenced your approbation of their proceedings & you cannot plead ignorance because it is utterly impossible that your brother & Mr Perrinot should conceal it from you or to the house being advertised to be let that can be no just plea because an advertisement to the contrary was immediately published by the society forbidding anyone to take the house till the matters were made up between the contracting parties, which was also communicated to you or yours therefore it is no wonder if afterwards your conscience should be alarmed about the great injustices done to the Skinners Alley Society. How you can now satisfy your conscience or make these injured people sufficient amends I cant tell. Even the assignment of the lease will be far shorter for you brought double the rent upon them that they had paid before & obliged them to take another house and be at a very great expense besides the confusion & hurry brought upon weak minds & the general interruptions of the necessary regulations of the society & consequently of the benefits accruing from thence.
I am Sir, your humble servant, WILLIAM HORNE.

COPY

Cork Street.
27 April 1748

My dear Brother, or to Speak Civilly
Sr

You do well to speak your mind. If it was my mind to keep the House, I shd. do it without feeling any Pretence at all. I have the Staff in my own Hands. But it is not my mind to keep it.

One thing I know, That you had yr House before we come to Dublin A Second thing I believe, That if we had not come, you wd have had it still. And this determined me To take the Lease of Mr. Perronet, That you might have it again.

My Yea is Yea, & my Nay is Nay. What I said at first, I say still, Indemnify me, as to yr Rents & Covenants & take yr House when you will. I have impowered Mr Merriton to act for me as you do for Mr. Cennick. I am

Your Affectionate Brother, or
If you chuse it rather
Your Humble Servt.
J. WESLEY.

May 13, 1748

Sir,

One would imagine you felt the warmth of the truth mentioned in our letter come with some feeling upon your heart but you cant from thence fairly conclude any warmth of spirit in us, as the conduct of those who have acted under your influence & authority when wayed by honest disinterested persons

has been found repugnant to all equity & your further proceedings I mean in regard to Skinnerys Alley Meeting House a confirmation of the same For my part I have no reason to retract anything in that letter Mr Cennick going away was publically spoken of before he left the Kingdom and I think that affair was so far settled to prevent that cange of mind which you afterwards showed in preaching in that house.

You confessed Mr Cennick appeared to you from his beheavour and what you surmised from his words to others to trifle with you and therefore could not in conscience delay preaching there any longer could not the plain simple meaning of Mr Cennicks letter prevail above any appearance only & your comparing his words to others perhaps differently repeated or misunderstood to you, to convince you he was not trifling. You tell us we entirely mistaken your motice of action I am yet really a stranger to your motive, except your desire of having the house from us, I am very sensible you are not unacquainted with the medthod which was used to dispossess us as to the advertisement I suppose Mr Horne has in his to you fully satisfied you so that I have no occasion to take notice.

But you say we possitively refuse to take it again, who told you so, I know I never did, but on the contrary when we would have taken it it was positively refused us.

You add Sir that now you are ready at a months warning to relinquish the house I own for my part you have made and yet make so many offers and proposals and yet with so much contradiction in all your beheavour that I really cannot tell what answer to make because indeed I think you do worse than trifle an instance of which acting after many before I cannot but take notice of namely that Mr. Meriton at your appointment and order sent for me and Mr Gilbert without Mr Horne who was the only person instructed to act for Mr Cennick would have had us sign a paper and bond of £500 to indemnify etc. things which neither could nor would have it been just for us to have done of ourselves we being only Bonds men to his Deed at which time I told Mr Meriton that his proposals were not fit for honest men to make and Mr Meriton himself owned it was such an affair in which he would not choose to act, this appeared if Clan-destinely you would have involved us into difficulties & leave us to be under the same or worse obligations to Mr S Edwards than ever, When we and Mr Cennick have shown you our resolution to have nothing more to do with it.

He has both in respect of the House first and since in respect in leaving the matter to Refrees beheavoured as he intended to lay aside even the appearance of an honesty & when you act so intricity & do not speak your mind plain at once you forced me to think must be your real intention. However, as Mr Cennick has now arrived I would rather you would write in your mind & tho I know he has much to do yet I believe he would spare so much of his time to give you his answer Only your proposals must be more free of diffi-

culties & reserves else I fear he will find it as hard as myself to know what you would have done.

I am Sir,
Your humble servant,
WILLIAM MONDET.

COPY

Cork Street,
May 14. 1748

Sr

What I said at first, I say just now, without any Intricacy or Reserve at all: 'Indemnify me, and take the House to day.' But be sure, I will keep it, till I am indemnified and if you refuse to do this, tis not I refuse to quit, but you refuse to take the House. Every sensible man must see where it sticks: Namely at you, and not at me.

I am
Your Well wisher and
Servt for Christ's sake.
J. WESLEY.

Mr. Meriton & Williams have
Power to transact Ys without me.
To Mr W. Mondett.

Skinners Alley May 14. 1748

Dear Mr. Wesley,

I am sorry the settling of the matter of Skinners Alley House between us need so many words. I thought very dear Sir by your first letters you was convinced in your heart from the Lord that we were wronged & desired to ease your mind by offering us the house again for the time you had taken it at your rent I then told you I would take it and even pay the charges which you had been at in obtaining a Lease and at your desire waited till you had time to transmit it to me. In the meantime I went to England & left Bro Horne to act for me but at my return found things far from been settled. The difficulties my friends thought in the way, were that you had proposed to them such things as would lay them again under obligations to Mr Edwards which you knew I refused in the beginning & after which you stilled promised me the house & some other incumbrances which neither they nor I would choose to be involved in. Neither of these things you proposed to me before & if only upon these conditions you are willing to give us again the house I am entirely contented to be without it & will strive to the utmost of my power to make all our people received their wrong patiently. And now dear sir if you can answer it before our Lord Jesus & be satisfied in your own conscience keep the house & let the end prove if you do well I am your affection & loving brother J. CENNICK.

COPY

May 16. 1748

My dear Brother,

I know you cannot indemnify me, with regard to the Rents and Covenants I am under which was the thing I always insisted on and must insist on still, without incumbring yourselves. If therefore you cannot accept the House 'upon these Conditions' the case is determined at once.

I wish you much happiness, and am

Your very affectionate Brother,
J. WESLEY.

To Mr. Cennick."

APPENDIX C

CENNICK'S PUBLISHED SERMONS

Title	*Text*	*Place Preached*	*Date*
The Cries of the Son of God	Mark 15-37	Kingswood	1739
The Gift and Office of the Holy Ghost	Acts 2:38, 39	Little Sommerford	1740
The New Birth	John 3:3	Malmesbury	1741
The Danger of Infidelity; or The Necessity of a Living Faith in Christ	II Cor. 13:5	Bristol	1742
Naaman Cleansed	II Kings 5:13	Bristol	1743
The Bloody Issued Healed	Mark 5:34	London	1743
St. Paul's Conversion	Acts 22:16	Plymouth	1744
The Good Shepherd	John 10:14	St. Gennis, in Cornwall	1744
The Best Foundation	Matt. 7:24	Biddeford	1744
The Good Samaritan	Luke 10:37	London	1744
Simon and Mary	Luke 7:48	Exeter	1744
The Marriage of Isaac	Gen. 24:31	Exeter	1744
The Two Covenants	Heb. 8:7	London	1745
The Benefits of the New Testament	Heb. 12:22-24	London	1745
The Divinity of Christ	Matt. 16:13, 15	Dublin	1746
The Sower	Mark 4:9	County of Antrim, Ireland	1748
The Lost Sheep, Piece of Silver, and Prodigal Son	Luke 15:2	County of Antrim, Ireland	1750
The Syrophoenician: or a Pattern of Invincible Faith	Matt. 15:28	London	1750
The Shadows of Christ	Col. 2:17	North of Ireland	1751
The Fall and Redemption	I Cor. 15:47	Ballynahone, in County Tyrone, Ireland	1752
The Woman of Samaria	John 4:10	Scholes in Yorkshire	1752
The First Principles of Christianity	Heb. 5:12	North of Ireland	1752
The Sufferings and Satisfaction of Christ	Isa. 53:11	North of Ireland	1752
The Beatitudes	Matt. 5:3	Dublin	1753
The Daemoniac	Luke 8:39	Haverford-West	1753
Dives and Lazarus	Luke 16:31	Dublin	1753
The Hidden Treasure	Matt. 13:44	Philbatch on Milford-Haven in South-Wales	1753
The Offices of the Messiah	Luke 4:18, 19	Haverford-West	1753
The Great Sacrifice	Heb. 9:26	Bath	1753
Lot's Flight	Gen. 19:17	Pembroke	1753
Deliverance from Death	John 8:51	Kingswood	1753
The Privilege of Believers	John 1:12	Grogun, in county Antrim	1754

The Patterns of Mercy	I Tim. 1:15, 16	Ballinderry in county Antrim	1754
The Vision of Dry Bones	Ezek. 37:14	Dublin	1754
The Safety of a True Christian	Ezek. 9:6	London	1744
The Assurance of Faith; or The Experience of a True Christian	Isa. 38:17	Glenevy, in county Antrim	1754
The Linsey-Woolsey Garment	Deut. 22:11	Drumargen in county Antrim	1754
The Reproach of the Cross	Heb. 13:13	Gloonen in county Antrim	1754
The Widow of Nain	Luke 7:13	———	1755
The Beatific Vision; or, Beholding Jesus Crucified	John 1:29	Ballymenagh in Ireland	1755

THE NINETY EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OCTOBER 13, 1955

In the Museum of the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pa. the annual session was called to order by the President the Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp at 10 A.M. with 21 members present.

The minutes of the annual meeting of Oct. 14, 1954 having been approved by the Executive Committee, on motion of the brethern Leibfried and Desh were not read.

The Treasurer's Report was presented as follows and approved on motion of the brethern Desh and Leibfried.

Receipts:		
Cash on hand Oct. 6, 1954		$ 3021.36
Vesper receipts	$ 157.85	
Dividends & Interest	858.00	
Annual Dues	567.00	
Sale of Publications	69.50	
Life Membership	30.00	
Museum Gift Box	137.35	
Donations for Renovation of Haidt Paintings	4102.55	
Investments (Bonds Called)	2000.00	7922.75
		$10944.11
Disbursements:		
Payments (Haidt Paintings & Renovations)	$ 4124.03	
Salaries	300.00	
Printing	501.84	
Postage & Stationery	61.74	
Insurance	204.91	
Sundry Expenses	41.30	
Graveyard Expenses	25.00	
Vesper Expenses	184.67	
Investments	1000.00	6443.49
Cash on Hand Oct. 1, 1955		$ 4500.62

Investments:	
United States Government Bonds	$11500.00
Second National Bank	2000.00
	$13500.00
Trust Funds:	
Helen Bell Memorial	$ 3000.00
Monroe County Memorial	96.17
Zeisberger Memorial	257.00
Publication Fund (Life Memberships)	3109.43
Rest House Fund	230.45
Eugene Rau Estate	5000.00
Albert Brodhead Estate	500.00
	$12193.05

W. E. Henry, Treasurer.

Examined and found correct.
Andrew G. Kern
Frank R. Huth, Auditors.

The Library Committee submitted it's report which on regular motion was accepted and a vote of thanks extended to this committee for it's services. The full report is attached to these minutes. In this report completion of the restoration of the Haidt Paintings was announced, consisting of seventeen religious paintings and four portraits. Also the old spinet cabinet was restored, the Hesselius—Klemm Organ was tuned gratis by the Moller Organ Co., the Nazareth Hall secretary was refinished and C. Frederick Martin restored the unusual old book lantern. Receipt of the following historical pieces was acknowledged: ladder back chair donated by the Misses Mary and Nellie Loux; by purchase: a Penna. ladder back chair, a Barrister back chair, a pine stretcher table, a walnut candle stand, a Carnation Pattern Gaudy Dutch plate.

Acknowledgement is made of the services of Miss G. Elizabeth Bahnsen in accessioning of the library books and of the newly organized Whitefield Guild, headed by Mrs. Gladys Stroman.

Walter Peters reported that all the funds for the restoration of the Haidt paintings were donated and no money of the Society was used for this purpose.

A report from the Publication Committee, the Rev. Robert Brennecke, Chairman, was presented and on motion was accepted and thanks extended to this Committee for it's gratuitous services. Mention was made that Part II of Volume XVI of the Transactions was ready for distribution and that it was purposely kept small to permit the accumulation of funds for a sizeable volume in the future. Attention was called in this report to the importance of fostering serious historical studies and then publishing the resulting papers. The full report is attached to these minutes.

The Secretary reported, in the absence of a Graveyard and Monument Committee report that Robert Kindt, Frank Heintzelman, Frank Seyfried with a local troup of Boy Scouts had cleaned up the grounds of the Indian Cemetery, near Nazareth, filled in ground and planted grass and kept it in order. On motion of the brethern Peters and Giesler a vote of thanks was extended to these individuals for this valuable work in thus restoring to decent condition this historic Moravian spot.

Applications for membership were received from the following and the names referred to the Executive Committee for action J. Paul Bronstein, Nevin J. Swavely, Frank T. Wunderly, Allentown, Pa. Mrs. Clarence Beckel, Mrs. Vera L. Greiner, Dr. Daniel Gilbert, Mrs. Conrad Hermsted, Mrs. H. Donald Kremer, Alma M. Musselman, Mrs. G. A. Petrulias, Truman J. Reese, Mrs. James L. Stevens, Clara A. Strohmeier, Walter A. Schrempel, Frances K. Schrempel, Miss Jean P. Wesner, Bethlehem, Pa. Catherine E. Beitel, Mrs. Thomas DeReamer, Mrs. Joy W. Dech, Rev. Allen S. Hedgecock, F. Robert Huth, Helen I. Koehler, Mrs. Elizabeth Morris, Mary Miller Winn, Carolyn N. Wunderly, Nazareth, Pa. ; J. H. Kirkhuff, Coopersburg, Pa.; Dr. Richard Jones, Quakertown, Pa.; Walter Stoudt, Emmaus, Pa.; Martin L. Schaffstall, Lancaster, Pa.; Rev. Earl Shay, Hope, Ind.; Rev. Edwin Sawyer, Winston Salem, N. C.

The Special Committee on By-Laws presented a new set of By-Laws in which the outstanding changes were a reclassification of membership as follows: Regular Members $2.00 per year, Contributing Members $5.00 per year. Sustaining Members $10.00 per year, Life Members $30.00 at one time if not then in

arrears, Benefactor Members $500.00 or more. Also that the Executive Committee shall make available to the Publication Committee 50% of all unallocated income including contributions for membership other than that received for Life and Benefactor Membership; also excluding admission fees or contributions deposited by visitors at the Museum and special funds held for a special purpose. All income from the sale of Transactions and other Publications shall be used exclusively for Publications. After some slight corrections by amendments, on motion of the brethren Taylor and Peters, these By-Laws were adopted as amended.

On motion of the brethren Taylor and Gross, the plans outlined in article XII referring to the allocations to the Publication Committee as above mentioned become effective at once and retro-active to the year 1954.

On motion of the brethren Taylor and Brennecke, the new Constitution and By-Law are to be published within the next 12 months.

A report was received from the Committee of the brethren Brennecke, Giering, and Peters together with the brethren Haupert and Snyder representing Moravian College, on the observance of the Sesquicentennial of Moravian College in 1957 in cooperation with the Moravian Historical Society. Consideration was given to the possibility of an historical pageant and recommendations were advanced that the annual meeting of Moravian Historical Society in 1957 be held as near the date of Oct. 2, as possible and that the program include a paper on the history of the College and Seminary by Dr. John R. Weinlick to be followed by an academic convocation on the old campus of Nazareth Hall and an address by a speaker of national prominence whom the institution would provide. On motion of the brethren Kern and Desh this was referred to the Executive Committee for final action.

The President announced the organization of a Moravian Historical Society at Hope, N. J. a former Moravian settlement. On a motion of the brethren Gross and Peters our Society was instructed to keep in close touch with this historical group.

Robert Taylor called attention to proposed legislation at Harrisburg Bills 672 and 673 calling for State support for restoration and rehabilitation of historical places. On motion of the brethren Taylor and Peters our Executives are to notify our Assemblymen of our endorsement of such action.

Announcement was made of our participation in the Bi-Centennial observance in memory of the missionary martyrs who died in the Gnadenhutten massacre on the Mahony (Lehighton, Pa.) Nov. 24, 1755. A service under the auspices of the Moravian Historical Society at Lehighton on Oct. 9th, 1955 was held in which the Rev. John R. Weinlick gave the Memorial address and the Rev. Walser H. Allen and the Rev. Robert I. Giering participated in the program.

The Nominating Committee: Robert Ziegler, Dr. Samuel Zeller, Wm. P. Gano submitted the following report nominating: President; The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp; Vice Presidents: The Rev. E. S. Hagen, Prof. H. H. Beck, The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, Rev. John R. Weinlick, Andrew G. Kern, Walter Peters; Secretary William H. Kortz; Treasurer William E. Henry; Librarian and Curator The Rev. Edward H. Swavely.
Board of Managers: Robert J. Desh, John E. Leibfried, Robert S. Taylor, George W. Hahn, The Rev. Henry L. Williams.
Publication Committee: The Rev. R. H. Brennecke, The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Henry B. Rau, The Rev. John R. Weinlick.
Library Committee: Walter Peters, Geo. W. Hahn, Dr. Samuel Zeller, G. Elizabeth Bahnsen, The Rev. John R. Weinlick, Mrs. Walter Peters, Gerhard Zeller, The Rev. E. H. Swavely, Mrs. Nathan Brobst, Stephen Woodruff, Mary Henry Stites, Mrs. Gladys Stroman, Mrs. Elizabeth Morris, Matthew K. Morris.
Graveyard Committee: George W. Hahn, Robt. F. Ziegler, J. Frederick Knecht, Frank Seyfried, Wm. P. Gamo.

On motion of the brethren Taylor and Desh the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for all of these nominees and the President declared them elected.

The following bills were presented and on motion of the brethern Leibfried and Weinlick they were approved and ordered paid:

Youngs Press	Printing Post Cards & Tickets	$ 9.25
W. H. Kortz	Postal Cards and Postage	7.70
Vesper Speaker		$ 25.00
Trombone Choir		12.00
Wm. E. Henry	Treasurer's Compensation	50.00
Edwin H. Swavely	Curator's "	200.00
W. H. Kortz	Secretary's "	50.00
Mrs. F. R. Huth	Vesper Services	10.00
Cash	Vesper Expenses	
Times Pub. Co.	Printing Transactions Vol. XVI, Part 2	377.50
W. H. Kortz	Postage for mailing Transactions	18.00
E. H. Swavely	Cleaning Museum, Door Mat & Candles	29.20
G. Elizabeth Bahsen	Work on Books & Manuscripts	10.00

Meeting Adjourned to Vesper at the Moravian Church.

Executive Committee Meeting

This brief meeting followed the regular business session for the purpose of electing the applicants for membership to the Society. All the applicants mentioned in the forgoing minutes were elected to membership in the Society.

Vesper Meeting

Assembled in the Social Rooms of the Moravian Church, over 200 members and guests of the Society attended the Vesper with the Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp presiding. The meeting opened with singing of the grace" What praise to Thee my Saviour is due for every favor". After which all sat down to the customary luncheon of ham, dried beef, cheese, rye bread, apple butter, sugar cake, and coffee prepared by members of the Church who are also members of the Historical Society. The Chairman announced the attendance of Mr. & Mrs. Carl S. Price of the new Historical Society at Hope, N. J. and Dr. & Mrs. Leslie R. Gray of London, Ontario, Canada. The President read the names of those who passed on to their eternal home during the past year and the memorial hymn was sung. They are: Mrs. Lily J. Geisinger, Mrs. F. E. Lennox, Mrs. S. D. Luckenbach, Mrs. Clara S. Rights, Miss Margaret Leibert, Mrs. Harry J. Seyfried, J. Donald Pharo, James R. Schmid, J. J. Shonk, Gustave Kreamer.

Dr. Paul A. Wallace, historian for the Penna. Historical Society and research Consultant for the Penna. State Historical

Commission was presented to the assembly by Dr. Gapp. He presented a paper on "30,000 miles with Moravian missionary John Heckewelder".

He told in interesting detail of the devoted life of this well known Moravian missionary, of his birth and education in England. How he was inspired for missionary effort in the Moravian community at Fulneck and came to Bethlehem in Penna. and enlisted with the S.P.G. and was sent to work among the Delaware and Mohican Indians. Dr. Wallace told us John Heckewelder was an inveterate traveler and crossed the Allegheny Mountains thirty times, went out into Ohio and was there associated with David Zeisberger in missionary work among the Indians.

He showed how he was an important figure in keeping the Indians in Ohio from participating in the war between the British and Americans. After the massacre of the Indian Christian Community at Gnadenhuetten in Ohio, Heckewelder pursued his missionary efforts among the Indians by traveling north into Canada where in Fairfield, Canada he established a Christian Community among the Delaware Indians. To-day in Canada the descendants of those Indians while affiliated with the United Church of Canada, honor their Moravian ancestors.

Following this The Rev. Edward H. Swavely, presented a paper on the Hesselius—Klemm Organ, the first organ built in the United States which is now on exhibit in our Museum. He sketched the life of Gustavus Hesselius and his connection with the Moravians after coming to America in 1712. In 1746 an organ built by Hesselius was installed for the Moravians in Bethlehem by John Gottlob Klemm. The latter became a resident of Bethlehem and built organs there and at Nazareth. David Tanneberger later became associated with Klemm and they built the first organ in Nazareth in 1756. While the work of Klemm seems to have been confined to building organs for the Moravians, Tanneberger after Klemm's death expanded his business to other churches and moved his factory to Lititz, Lancaster County, Pa. A brief sketch of Tanneberger's life was included in the paper read by Rev. Swavely.

Rev. Swavely announced that the reconditioned organ in the Museum would be played by Mrs. Margaret Schwarze Kortz and invited all to come to the Museum and join in hymn singing with the music from the organ from the Bethlehem Congregation that is now in the Museum. After singing a hymn of benediction, the afternoon session adjourned and a good number of people went to the Museum and fellowshipped in the hymn singing and organ playing with considerable emotion, the folks realizing that the same hymns were sung with the playing of this organ in the years following it's installation at Bethlehem in 1746.

W. H. Kortz, Secretary.

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

The Publication Committee wishes to report that Part II of Volume XVI of the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society is ready for distribution to-day. It contains the minutes of last year's meeting and the very interesting paper of Professor Herbert H. Beck, one of our vice presidents on: "William Henry: Patriot, Master Gunsmith, Progenitor of the Steamboat". In accordance with a plan approved a year ago, the chairman of the Publication Committee, in co-operation with Miss Mary Snively, librarian at Moravian College, prepared "An Alphabetical Table of Contents" for volumes I to XVI of the Society's Transactions, covering the 98 years of the life of the organization. This is also a part of this year's Transactions and here you can find hundreds of references to all manner of historical matters which have received the attention of our society through the years. It is a gold-mine for the historical researcher.

Because of this and in order to acquaint as many people as possible with the unique resources of our published Transactions, we have also published this Table of Contents as a separate pamphlet for wide free distribution. Thus we hope to create a widely enlarged sale for our Transactions of which we possess thousands of copies.

Your committee has purposely published very small parts of our transactions both last year and now, so that we could accumulate enough funds to publish a sizeable volume in future years.

There is an abundance of valuable material available for publication, but printing has become expensive. There is Dr. Couillard's comprehensive study of "The Theology of John Cennick", extracts from which he read before the 1953 meeting; there is Dr. Weinlick's valuable dissertation on "The Moravian Diaspora", read last year. The Rev. John H. Johansen has prepared another hymnological study on "John Gambold: Poet and Moravian Bishop". Dr. Paul Wallace's paper for to-day "30,000 miles with John Heckewelder" will doubtless be a most valuable and interesting contribution.

There is no question that our society's most valuable service through the years, has been the fostering of serious historical studies and then publishing the resulting papers. The committee on revision of the constitution and by-laws has recognized this important fact and in its report to the society to-day it will submit a well-considered plan for systematically providing financial resources for such publications.

The Publication Committee specifically requests that, after the adoption of Article XII of the revised By-laws, the society resolve that the plan in Article XII become effective *at once* concerning the society's income during the past year, and that the balance accruing to the Publication Committee after paying for the publication of Part II of Volume XVI be credited to the committee for use this year.

Robert H. Brennecke, Chairman
October 12, 1955

THE NINETY NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OCTOBER 11, 1956

Twenty two members were present at the annual meeting of the Moravian Historical Society held in the morning of the above date at 10 A.M. called to order by the President, The Rt. S. H. Gapp.

The minutes of the annual meeting of 1955 were not read as they had been approved by the Executive Committee. The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of Jan. 20, 1956 were read and approved.

On proper motion the Treasurer's report which follows here, was accepted and approved

Receipts:		
Cash on hand Oct. 1, 1955		$4500.62
Vesper receipts	$ 170.00	
Dividends and Interest	460.50	
Annual Dues	670.00	
Sale of Publications	132.98	
Life Memberships	210.00	
Museum Gift Box	164.32	
Donations	300.00	$2107.80
	$2107.80	$6608.42
Disbursements:		
Renovations and Exhibits	$ 839.95	
Salaries	300.00	
Printing	388.50	
Postage & Stationery	35.63	
Fire Ins. Premiums	66.05	
Maintenance	39.20	
Sundry Expenses	53.44	
Vesper Expenses	186.79	
Purchase of 60 sh. P.P. & L. Stock	2902.50	$4812.06
Cash on Hand Oct. 1, 1956	$4812.06	$1796.36

Investments		Trust Funds	
U.S. Government Bonds	$11500.00	Helen Bell Memorial	$ 3000.00
Second National Bank Stock	2000.00	Monroe County Memorial	96.17
P.P. & L. Stock 60 Sh.	2902.50	Zeisberger Memorial	257.00
		Publication Fund	3319.43
		Rest House Fund	230.45
		Eugene Rau Estate	5000.00
		Albert Brodhead Estate	500.00
		Publication Committee	1042.74
	$16402.50		$13445.79

W. E. Henry, Treasurer.

We the undersigned have examined the above statement and compared it with the Treasurer's books and find the same correct.

Andrew G. Kern
Frank R. Huth, Auditors.

The Publication Committee presented its report which was on motion accepted and is in full attached to these minutes. The committee announced that due to the condition of the Society's finances, no publications were put in print during the past year. Attention was called to the unpublished papers: It was suggested that the Society appropriate an extra $500.00 for the year ahead for their publication. This request after some debate was withdrawn.

A resolution was passed to appoint a special committee to attempt a larger sale of our publications.

Dr. Richmond Myers announced that funds for publications were available to historical societies from the State Federation of Historical Societies if we were a member of this group, to as much as 50% of the cost, subject to approval of the matter to be published. Mr. Myers volunteered to get further details and it was resolved to refer the matter and a further report from Mr. Myers to the Executive Committee for action.

The Librarian and Curator presented a report for the Library Committee which was accepted and is attached to these minutes. In this report we note accessions to the Museum of a fine walnut stretcher table, a pine stretcher table, a ladder back chair, a pine stand, and a manuscript history of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary by Prof. Edwin G. Klose. This latter ac-

cession was a gift at a cost of $45.00 from an anonymous Nazareth citizen. Two other items are available to the Society—a ladder back chair at a cost of $75.00 and a cello made by C. F. Hartman for $185.00. The instrument belongs at present to Miss Nina Walker of Winston-Salem, N. C.

Attention was called to necessary patching and painting of the hall ceiling and to renovation desirable to properly exhibit the Haidt paintings. It was estimated that $2000.00 would be required for the latter renovations. Walter Peters volunteered to raise the $75.00 for the Ladder Back Chair and the matter of purchase of the cello was by resolution referred to the Library Committee with authority to act subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

The Report of the Graveyard Committee was received and accepted and is also attached to these minutes. The questions raised were referred to the Executive Committee for attention.

Mrs. Earl Stroman personally reported on the formation of a Whitefield Guild of 20 Nazareth women who meet monthly to study historical background of our Moravian heritage. These women also serve as helpers to guide groups through our Museum.

Mr. Henry of Haddonfield, N. J. reported that through Mr. Chas. Meredith of the Bucks County Historical Society a request has been made by the Editor of the Quakertown Free Press, a Mr. Detweiler who has visited our Museum, to take photos of our exhibits. A discussion followed on the advisability of permitting this at present. A resolution on the matter was offered and passed that the whole matter be referred to the Library Committee to report back to the Executive Committee for approval of any decision.

Dr. Weinlick suggested that our annual meeting be held next year on Oct. 2nd. instead of the regular fixed meeting date of the second Thursday in Oct. This would tie in with the 150th anniversary celebration of the College and Seminary, which is planned for Nazareth. It was pointed out that next year was our own 100th anniversary. It was voted to hold our meeting next year on the regular date, Oct. 10th. but that we cooperate with the College and Seminary in their program on Oct. 2nd.

The Nominating Committee consisting of R. F. Ziegler, Sarah H. Brobst, William Gano, presented the following nominations:

President	The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp
Vice Presidents	H. H. Beck, Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, Dr. John Weinlick, Andrew G. Kern, Walter Peters.
Secretary	William H. Kortz.
Treasurer	William E. Henry.
Librarian & Curator	Rev. E. H. Swavely.
Board of Managers	Robert J. Desh, John E. Leibfried, Robert S. Taylor, Jr., Henry L. Williams, George W. Hahn.
Publication Committee	Rev. R. H. Brennecke, Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Henry B. Rau, Dr. John R. Weinlick.
Library Committee	Walter Peters, George Hahn, Dr. Samuel Zeller, Miss G. Elizabeth Bahnsen, Dr. John R. Weinlick, Mrs. Walter Peters, Gerhard Zeller, Rev. E. H. Swavely, Mrs. Nathan Brobst, Stephen Woodruff, Miss Mary Henry Stites, Mrs. Gladys Stroman, Mrs. Elizabeth Morris, Matthew K. Morris.
Graveyard Committee	George W. Hahn, R. F. Ziegler, J. F. Knecht, Frank Seyfried, William Gano.

Walter Peters then nominated Dr. Richmond Myers and Rev. Allen S. Hedgecock to the Library Committee.

It was moved that the Secretary cast the ballot for all these nominees which was done and the nominees declared elected.

The following names were proposed for membership: Mrs. Lester Beil, Mrs. James B. Fleming, Mr. Harvey Morgenstern, Mrs. Harvey Morgenstern, Stanley G. Beidelman, for regular membership and for life membership Winburt Beil, Mrs. T. E. Butterfield. These application were referred to the Executive Committee.

Meeting adjourned at 12:15 P.M.

A brief session of the Executive Committee was then held to vote upon the applications for membership and all the applications mentioned in the foregoing minutes were elected to membership in the Society.

Vesper Meeting

At 1 P.M. in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church we assembled for the usual luncheon and Vesper service

which was presided over by the President S. H. Gapp. The meeting opened with the singing of the hymn of grace "What Praise to Thee my Saviour is due for every favor". After the luncheon a hymn was sung for the members who had passed on to their eternal home during the past year. They are the following: Mrs. S. T. Achenbach, Mrs. Elizabeth Carew, Mrs. Robert Diehl, Mrs. Archibald Johnson, Mrs. Thomas Milchsack, Miss Charlotte Mix, Mrs. Frank H. Schmidt.

The President then introduced the speaker for the occasion—Miss Ann Hark, author of the book "Hex Marks the Spot" and daughter of the late Dr. J. Max Hark, a Moravian minister and one time President of our Young Ladies Seminary at Bethlehem. She presented a condensed paper of her father on the missionary project of our early Moravian missionaries among the Indians. Her paper was entitled "A Moravian Colonial Incident" and covered the missionary work of the Moravians at the Indian Village of Shekomeko in Dutchess County, New York. This work was among the Mohican tribe of the Indians and detailed to us the efforts of Christian Henry Rauch and Gottlob Buetner. The material presented to us most interesting accounts of the approach to these Indians, of the first converts, and taking these converts (three in number) to Phila. and from there to Oley in Berks County Penna. for baptism, as Rauch was not an ordained minister and therefore could not perform the ceremony. Count Zinzendorf and Henry Antes were there at the time of their arrival.

The reading of the paper told of the development of the work, of daily church services, of the building of a Gemein House, of organizing a school for the Indian children so they could read and write, of attaining to a communicant membership of 63. Other Indians came to see the changes in the village brought about by these missionaries and pleaded with them to come to their villages too and organize similar work there. We were also told of the hardship that these missionaries endured, of the opposition of liquor agents whose business among the Indians was affected, of difficulties due to war between the French and English which involved the Indians, of the persecution of the missionaries by the Colonial Government because their conscience

would not permit them to take an oath of loyalty. They were finally ordered to leave the Province. The record of a visit to these Indian converts by Count Zinzendorf informed us of this nobleman sitting there among the almost naked savages and calling them brethren. The death of these pioneer missionaries of Shekomeko at an early age was due to the physical hardships they endured in this work. Their objective was to tell the Indians of the Saviour who loved them and who could save them from their sins by His death on the cross. It is recorded that they said they desired that their heads be filled not with knowledge but that their hearts be filled with the Word of God. Thus did this historical sketch tie in with the mission of the Church of Christ and the Moravian denomination.

The Nazareth Moravian Trombone Choir furnished music for the occasion preceding the afternoon session in front of the building outdoors and in the rooms during the singing of the hymns.

Thanks were extended to the Trombone Choir for their services and to the group of folks who served the luncheon.

Acknowledgement was made of the presence of the Hon. Leslie Gray and Mrs. Gray from Canada, Dr. & Mrs. Paul A. Wallace of the Penna. Historical Society, of the Rev. and Mrs. Aldersly of the Eastern West Indies and of missionaries from Alaska and Nicaragua: Dreberts, Marxs and Wengers for the first time.

The meeting was adjourned after singing the Benediction.

William H. Kortz, Secretary

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

"This year's report of the Publication Committee is definitely conditioned by the state of the society's finances as compared with the present high cost of publishing. You will recall that Article 12 of the By-laws of the society, as adopted last year, specifies that one half of all unallocated income including contributions for memberships *except* that received from Life Memberships and Benefactors, from admission fees or gifts at the museum, and from funds held for special purposes is ear-marked for the use of the Publication Committee. So also is all income

from the sale of Transactions and other publications. Unexpended balances from these sources shall at the end of the year be held in reserve for the Publication Committee.

Last Spring the treasurer reported an amount of money thus available which was insufficient to publish Dr. Vernon W. Couillard's "The Theology of John Cennick", which your committee feels should be the next volume of our Transactions. It was, therefore, decided to issue no publication at this time but to let our funds accumulate.

In addition to the just named manuscript there is such a wealth of manuscript material available for publication that it is a great pity not to get it into print now. There is Dr. Weinlick's study of "The Moravian Diaspora", John H. Johansen's hymnological study of "John Gambold: Poet and Moravian Bishop" and Mr. Leslie Gray's account of Heckewelder and Mortimer's trek from Fairfield Ontario to Ohio.

We wish to request that all members of the society give to their historically interested friends copies of the free "Alphabetical Table of Contents" of all Transactions of the society. This pamphlet is the key to a vast store-house of historical information to be found no where else. Its wide distribution could create a real demand for the large stock of Transactions on hand and thus, in turn, further future publications.

In his report to to-day's meeting the treasurer will state that as of Oct. 1st the Publication Com. has a credit of only $1042. In view of a balance on hand of unallocated funds of about $700 your committee suggests that the society to-day vote an additional amount of $500 for publication in the year ahead. Such action would enable us to catch up with the available manuscript material and with the printing of the minutes of 1955 and 1956 as well as of the Revised Constitution & By-laws, in the coming months.

Respectfully submitted The Publication Committee.
Robert H. Brennecke, Chairman

THE 100TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OCTOBER 10, 1957

This 100th. Annual Meeting of the Society was called to order on October 10, 1957, by the President, Bishop S. H. Gapp at 10 A.M. in the Library and Museum of the Whitefield House in Nazareth with 36 members present.

The minutes of the annual meeting of the previous year were not read by common consent as they had been approved by the Executive Committee at a meeting of the committee held Dec. 10th, 1956.

The Treasurer Wm. E. Henry then submitted his annual report.

Treasurer's Statement, October 1, 1956 to October 1, 1957.

Receipts		
Cash on hand Oct. 1, 1956		$1796.36
Vesper receipts	$ 158.50	
Dividends & interest	506.72	
Membership dues	673.00	
Sale of publications	196.01	
Life memberships	60.00	
Museum gift box	185.73	
Donations	25.00	1804.96
		$3601.32
Disbursements		
Salaries (Librarian, secretary and treasurer)	$ 300.00	
Printing	1361.82	
Postage & stationery	42.38	
Insurance premiums	10.00	
Maintenance	26.39	
Sundry expense	21.05	
Graveyard	25.00	
Vesper expense	179.03	$1965.67
Cash on hand, October 1, 1957		$1635.65

(Active account Second National Bank		$ 925.43	
" " Nazareth Nat'l Bank & Trust Co.		710.22	
		$1635.65	
Investments		*Trust Funds*	
U. S. Gov't bonds	$11,500.00	Helen Bell Memorial	$ 3,000.00
100 shares Second Nat'l Bank of Naz.	2,000.00	Monroe County "	96.17
70 shares Pa. Power & Light Co.	2,902.50	Zeisberger "	257.00
		Publication Fund (Life Memberships)	3409.43
		Rest House Fund	230.45
		Eugene Rau Estate	5000.00
	$16,402.50	Albert Brodhead Estate	500.00
			$12,493.05

Audited and found correct.
Andrew G. Kern) } Auditors
Frank R. Huth)

Wm. E. Henry, Treasurer

Bro. Robert H. Brennecke reported for the Publication Committee as chairman. He reported that Part 3 of Vol. XVI had been printed and distributed to all the members of the Society. This volume consists solely of Dr. Vernon Couillard's thesis "The Theology of John Cennick" a portion of which was read at our 1953 Vespers. Announcement was made in the report of the receipt of 475 copies of the concluding portion of "The Diary of David Zeisberger and Benjamin Mortimer from Fairfield Canada to Schoenbrunn, Ohio in 1798". This was edited and presented to our Society by Mr. Leslie R. Gray of Canada. It is the intention of the Committee to publish the final part of Vol. XVI before long. This is to include the minutes of the 1955-'56 and '57 meetings, the Revised Constitution and By-laws, our membership roll, and the "Review of the First Century of the Society's Life" as presented to the 1957 Vespers meeting. The concluding part of the Zeisberger-Mortimer Diary is to be bound with the rest. Other material now in the possession of the Publication Committee will be published as finances and circumstances permit.

It was moved that the secretary write a letter of thanks to Mr. Leslie R. Gray for his contribution indicated in the Publication Committee report.

The Graveyard Committee Chairman Bro. George Hahn was absent and had no report.

The Librarian and Curator made a few brief remarks concerning his work and asked for a report of the Whitefield Guild. Mrs. Earl Stroman, president of this Ladies Guild called upon the secretary, Miss Carolyn Wunderly, for the report. The report indicated that their purpose was to study the historical background of our Moravian heritage as well as the history of the town and environments including the contents of the Whitefield Museum in order to serve as guides as well as to preserve and disseminate such knowledge for the future. Librarian Swaveley is the advisor of the Guild. The following papers were prepared: "Visit to Nazareth in 1792 of 51 Indian Chiefs of Six Nations" by Mrs. Earl Stroman. "The Indian Massacre at Gnadenhutten" by Mrs. Carlisle Anglemire." "The Trombone Choir" by Mr. Jesse Kreidler." The Rose Inn" by Miss Helen Koehler. "The Henry Gun Works" by the Misses Harriet and Helen Henry." "The Economy Plan of Bishop Spangenberg" by Mrs. George Dech. "John Antes-American Delettante" by Miss Catherine Beitel. During the year tours of groups through the Museum were conducted by the Guild, an average of six ladies serving each group dressed in their Moravian Sister's costume.

The unfinished business of purchasing a cello made in Nazareth in early years by C. F. Hartmann, a partner in the C. F. Martin Guitar factory, committed to the Library Committee last year was taken up. Nothing had been done in the matter and it was now referred to the Executive Committee for consideration at their next meeting.

A letter from the University of Prague was received requesting a complete set of our Transactions. The matter was referred to the Executive Committee and this Committee was authorized to set up a policy for the exchange of Publications.

Bro Swavely reported that he had a similar request from Bishop Shaberg of the African Province Theological Seminary and that he would take care of this upon authorization by our Society. This was granted.

Bishop Gapp called our attention to the publication of Dr.

Wallace's book on Heckewelder. The suggestion was advanced that a Moravian organization should provide the funds for setting up the type and in compensation for this we might receive a quantity of the books which we could then sell. This was referred to the Publication Committee which is to report to the Executive Committee for authority to act in the matter as the Publications Committee may decide.

The Nominating Committee, consisting of William P. Gano, Robert F. Ziegler, and Mrs. Sarah H. Brobst, placed the following officers in nomination for 1957-58.

President	The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp.
Vice Presidents	Prof. H. H. Beck, The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, Dr. John Weinlick, Andrew G. Kern, Walter Peters.
Secretary	William H. Kortz.
Treasurer	William E. Henry.
Librarian & Curator	The Rev. E. H. Swavely.
Board of Managers	Robert J. Desh, John E. Leibfried, Robert S. Taylor, Jr., The Rev. Henry L. Williams, George W. Hahn.
Publication Committee	The Rev. Robert H. Brennecke, The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Henry B. Rau, Dr. John Weinlick.
Library Committee	Walter Peters, Geo. W. Hahn, Dr. Samuel Zeller, Elizabeth Bahnsen, Dr. John Weinlick, Mrs. Walter Peters, The Rev. E. H. Swavely, Mrs. Nathan Brobst, Dr. Edwin A. Sawyer, Miss Mary Henry Stites, Mrs. Gladys Stroman, Mrs. Elizabeth Morris, Matthew Morris, Dr. Richmond Meyers, The Rev. Allen S. Hedgecock.
Graveyard Committee	George W. Hahn, R. F. Ziegler, J. F. Knecht, Frank Seyfried, William Gano.

The Chairman called for nominations from the floor and there being none, the Secretary was asked to cast the ballot. These nominees then were declared elected.

Bro. Brennecke offered the following resolution, seconded by Walter Peters: "That the Library Committee be and is hereby instructed and authorized to hereafter regularly be on the alert for antique and newly published literature of definite and interesting value for the purpose of our Society and to procure it by purchase or otherwise for our Library. Such expenditures shall be subject to the ultimate approval of the Executive

Board. This resolution was adopted.

On motion the Society approved the payment of transportation of transactions to other Moravian institutions throughout the world.

On motion the Society invites the Kemmerer Museum, of Bethlehem to Associate membership and it was voted that no organization be admitted to Life Membership in our Society.

Payment of the following bills and expenses was approved: Honorariums: E. H. Swavely $200.00, W. H. Kortz $50.00, W. E. Henry $50.00, Trombone Choir $12.00, E. H. Swavely for cleaning help $25.00, Youngs Press $19.75 Vesper Expenses.

President Gapp presented a letter from Fred J. Dodson, Curator of the Fairfield, Canada Historical Museum stating that their Museum Building was being erected this Fall and to be completed by Spring 1958. This will contain much in connection with this pioneer Moravian settlement and financial help is requested for the Building. The Sec'y-Treas. is J. F. Fletcher of Chatham, Ontario, Canada. This matter was by motion referred to the Executive Committee for further consideration.

The following names were proposed for membership in our Society: The Rev. Daniel Jones, Mrs. Joseph DeRoach, Mrs. Anna B. Moyer, Mrs. Wilhelmina Seyfried, Mrs. Rebecca Kehl, Mrs. William L. Weiss, Walter Reed Stofflet, Miss Halcyon Sartwell, Robert W. Kindt, Robert H. Dougherty, Gordon Sommers, James A. Weaver, Douglas Rabbach, Josephine L. Murray, Bernard Nehring, Robert K. Sanders, Mrs. Richard Scott, John A. Graver, Rev. James O. Bruckart, G. I. Wallace, Samuel V. Capp, Earl Stroman, S. W. Twine (England) Bishop Shaberg (Director of the Moravian Theological Seminary of South Africa)

Meeting adjourned at 11:30 A.M.

A brief meeting of the Executive Committee was held immediately after this meeting and the above named applications were received and the individuals elected to membership.

The question of meeting the luncheon expenses of the General Synod Guests was brought up and the brethern Desh, Taylor, and Peters contributed $20.00 to cover these expenses. Adjournment.

Vesper Meeting

The customary Luncheon and Vesper Service followed the morning's meeting and at 1 P.M. over 200 members and guests sat down to lunch prepared by a committee of the Nazareth members in the Nazareth Moravian Church. Bishop S. H. Gapp presided and the meeting opened with singing of the hymn of Grace "What Praise to Thee my Saviour is due for every favor." After the luncheon the assembly moved up stairs to the Bible School auditorium of the Church. A memorial hymn was sung for members who had passed on to their eternal home during the past year. These were: Former Vice President E. S. Hagen, Dr. Howard Rondthaler, William C. Hartmann, Mrs. Ellen Jennings, Mrs. Caroline M. Pharo, Mrs. Warwick A. Shaw.

We were fortunate in this our 100th Anniversary to have as our guests the following who were delegates to the General Synod of The Moravian Church: The Rev. Dr. Heinz Motel, Würtemburg, Germany; The Rev. Dr. W. Lütjeharms, Zeist, Holland; The Rt. Rev. and Mrs. E. W. Porter, Bristol, England; The Rev. & Mrs. A. J. Lewis, Manchester, England; Mr. & Mrs. S. Twine, Yorkshire, England; The Rt. Rev. Karel Reichel, Prague, Czechoslovakia; Dr. & Mrs. Samuel King Hutton, Somerset, England; The Rt. Rev. P. W. Shaberg, Capetown, South Africa; The Rev. Jack Coleman, Bluefields, Nicaragua.

The Rev. R. H. Brennecke presented a paper giving a brief sketch of the history of the Moravian Historical Society for the past 100 years. He referred to it's organization 100 years ago by twelve local persons interested in the history of the Moravian Church. To day the Society has 431 members scattered all over America as well as Europe. It has made a very valuable contribution to early Moravian literature by the publication of 16 volumes of Transactions covering over 6000 pages of historic information and data. This paper was well received and will be published in the near future.

Dr. Gapp next introduced as the special speaker for the occasion, Dr. Heinz Motel of Bad Boll, Germany, who just recently had been a delegate to the General Synod of the Moravian Church held in Bethlehem. His paper was entitled "The Re-

lation of the Old and the Renewed Moravian Church to the Reformation". He pointed out that the early Brethren never thought of themselves as the church. They knew that they were only a part of the church of Christ, in her totality invisible to the human eye, but present in all churches which call upon the Lord Jesus.

He spoke of Martin Luther's early contacts with the Brethren and their discussion of Moravian Doctrine.

Dr. Motel pointed out that what the Brethern learned from the Reformation shines most brightly in their hymns, as we now sing them in our days. In speaking of the Renewed Unity, Dr. Motel pointed out that Count von Zinzendorf, the renewer of the Old Unity was a follower of Luther. He made an essential impression on the Renewed Brethrens Church by his understanding of Luther, adding "one can speak of intensive relations with Luther in the Old Unity but of Zinzendorf one can only speak of his resting on a correct understanding of Luther." Dr. Motel said: "the Old Unity and the New Unity are under great obligations to Luther. For the Old Unity he was theological advisor and protector who helped the Unity understand itself better and to clarify it's doctrine. Dr. Motel emphasized the continutity between the Old and Renewed Unity of the Brethren. He stated that the evidence that such a continunity exists is the fact of the transfer of the episcopacy from the old to the new church. There is also the fact that the origin of the Renewed Unity traces back to the descendants of the old-time Moravians, also in the fact that in both unities we are dealing with fellowship churches which today largely resemble each other in their structure and in the principles of that structure.

The Nazareth Moravian Trombone Choir furnished the music for the afternoon. With the singing of a hymn, the meeting adjourned.

William H. Kortz, Secretary

Members of the Moravian Historical Society, October 1957.

*** Designates Associate Member** **L Designates Life Member**

L-Addison, Mrs. Carolyn, Arlington, N. J.
Allen, Miss Barbara, Bethlehem, Pa.
Allen, Dr. Walser H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Allen, Mrs. Walser H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Anglemire, Mrs. Josephine K., Nazareth, Pa.

L-Bahnsen, Anastasia M., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Bahnsen, G. Elizabeth, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Barnum, Mrs. Donald C., Bethlehem, Pa.
Bassett, Rev. Ralph, Allentown, Pa.
Beck, Prof. H. H., Lancaster, Pa.
Beck, Miss Thelma A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Beckel, Fred. T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Beckel, Ralph L., Harrisburg, Pa.
*Beecher, Mrs. Earl, Allentown, Pa.
Bees, Fred. T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Beidelmann, Stanley D., New York, N. Y.
Beil, Mrs. Lester A., Nazareth, Pa.
L-Beil, Winburt H., Nazareth, Pa.
Beitel, Miss Catherine, Nazareth, Pa.
Bender, Rev. Elmer D., Egg Harbor City, N. J.
Bennett, Miss Mary E., Bethlehem, Pa.
Bergstresser, George D., Bethlehem, Pa.
Bergstresser, Mrs. Geo. D., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Betge, Alfred, Bethlehem, Pa.
*Bethlehem Public Library, 11 W. Market St.
Billiard, Mrs. George, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Bishoff, Clyde T., Allentown, Pa.
L-Bishop, Mrs. Pearl W., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Bitler, Mrs. Alice A., Hammonton, N. J.
Borhek, Henry T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Borhek, Mrs. Henry T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Bornman, Dr. Chas. J., Allentown, Pa.
Braden, Miss Marilyn, Bethlehem, Pa.
Braunstein, J. Paul, Allentown, Pa.
Breinig, Warren L., Nazareth, Pa.
Brennecke, Rev. Robert H., Nazareth, Pa.
Brobst, Nathan B., Nazareth, Pa.
Brobst, Mrs. Nathan B., Nazareth, Pa.
*Brobston, Joseph F., Nazareth, Pa.
Brown, Robert T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Browne, Mrs. R. H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Bruckart, Rev. James, Riverside, N. J.
*Bryant, Dr. Alice, Bethlehem, Pa.

L-Brunner, Dr. E. de S., Wilton, Conn.
Buchhaupt, Mrs. Caroline, Bethlehem, Pa.
Buchhaupt, Robert A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Buchhaupt, Mrs. Robt. A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Bunn, Mrs. Clinton L., Nazareth, Pa.
L-Butterfield, Mrs. Thomas E., Bethlehem, Pa.

Chiddie, Rev. George A., Winston-Salem, N.
L-Clauder, Dr. Anna C., Philadelphia, Pa.
L-Clewell, Mrs. Clarence E., Swarthmore, Pa.
Clewell, Edward B., Emmaus, Pa.
*Clinch, Miss Bess, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Couch, Mrs. Helena de Schweinitz, Bethlehem,
Couch, Rev. Paul de S., Indianapolis, Ind.
Couillard, Dr. Vernon W., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Coyle, Hon. W. H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Cressman, Grant, Bethlehem, Pa.
Cressman, Mrs. Grant, Bethlehem, Pa.

Danneberger, Mrs. Flora M., Bethlehem, Pa.
Danneberger, Miss Margaret, Bethlehem, Pa.
*Davis, Miss Rose M., Bridgeport, Conn.
Dech, Mrs. Joy W., Nazareth, Pa.
L-Deer, Rev. Irvin E., Parkton, Md.
Deischer, Dr. Claude K., Merion Station, Pa.
de Neufville, Mrs. Albert, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-de Schweinitz, Karl, Bethlehem, Pa.
DeReamer, Mrs. Thos., Nazareth, Pa.
DeRoach, Mrs. Jos. A., Allentown, Pa.
Desh, George J., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Desh, Helen Louise, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Desh, Robert J., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Detterer, Miss M. Pauline, Bethlehem, Pa.
Diehl, John Bryan, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Dodson, Mrs. J. S., Bethlehem, Pa.
Dougherty, Robert H., Hellertown, Pa.
Drebert, Dr. Ferdinand, Nazareth, Pa.
Drebert, Mrs. Marie E., Nazareth, Pa.
Dreydoppel, Rev. Otto, Uhrichsville, Ohio
Dudding, Griffith, Philadelphia, Pa.

Eberman, A. E., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Eby, Willis, Bath, Pa.
L-Eckert, Charles W. Sr., Bethlehem, Pa.

Eckert, Charles E., Coloyne, N. J.
-Egan, Mrs. James, Bethlehem, Pa.
Engelbrecht, Rev. Robert F., Altura, Minn.
-Estes, Dr. W. L., Bethlehem, Pa.
-Ettinger, Dr. Amos A., Allentown, Pa.

Faust, Miss Elizabeth, Bethlehem, Pa.
Faust, Mrs. Ellen V., Bethlehem, Pa.
Fleming, Mrs. J. B., Bethlehem, Pa.
Fliegel, Rev. John, Bethlehem, Pa.
Fliegel, Rev. Wolfram, Dominican Republic
Frack, Miss Anna, Nazareth, Pa.
Frack, Miss Ella S., Nazareth, Pa.
Francke, Rev. Arthur, Lebanon, N. J.
Frankenfield, Mrs. Ellen, Bethlehem, Pa.
Frantz, Mrs. A. E., Nazareth, Pa.
Frantz, Stanley, R., Bethlehem, Pa.
Fretz, Augustus H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Fretz, Mrs. Augustus H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Freeman, Rev. Arthur, Yardley, Pa.
-Frey, Mrs. Austin R., Monterey, Calif.
-Frick, Robert P. L., Fredricksburg, Va.
Fry, Mrs. James S., Nazareth, Pa.
Fulton, Rev. Donald E., Union, N. J.
*Funk, Henry H., Bethlehem, Pa.

*Gangewer, Holmes S., Allentown, Pa.
Gano, William P., Nazareth, Pa.
Gano, Mrs. William P., Nazareth, Pa.
Gapp, The Rt. Rev S. H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Gapp, Samuel V., Bethlehem, Pa.
Giering, Rev. Robert I., Utica, N. Y.
Giering, Mrs. Robert I., Utica, N. Y.
Giesler, John H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Gilbert, Dr. Daniel R., Bethlehem, Pa.
Gilliland, John E., Hope, Ind.
Glasser, Rev. Eugene R., Ephraim, Wis.
-Goerner, Martin, H., Hellertown, Pa.
-Goerner, Rev. W. J., Bethlehem, Pa.
-Grams, Dr. Roy, Dover, Ohio
Graver, John A., Nazareth, Pa.
*Graver, Lee, Nazareth, Pa.
*Graver, Mrs. Virginia R., Nazareth, Pa.
Gray, George L., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Gray, Leslie R., London, Ont., Canada
*Gray, Mrs. Leslie R., London, Ont., Canada

Gray, Mrs. Marion S., Bethlehem, Pa.
Greiner, Mrs. Vera L., Bethlehem, Pa.
Groenfeldt, Dr. John S , Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Grosch, Dr. Daniel S., Raleigh, N. C.
L-Grosch, Mrs. Samuel E., Bethlehem, Pa.
Gross, Rev. James F., Gnadenhutten, O.
Gross, Rev. Reuben H., Bethlehem, Pa.

Hahn, George W., Nazareth, Pa.
Hahn, Mrs. George W., Nazareth, Pa.
Hamilton, Dr. A. B., Bethlehem, Pa.
Hamilton, The Rt. Rev. K. G., Bethlehem, Pa.
Hamilton, Mrs. K. G., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Hamilton, Mrs. Katherine Kessler, Bethlehem, Pa.
Harke, Mrs. Albert J., Bethlehem, Pa.
Hartmann, Mrs. Louise G., Bethlehem, Pa.
Hartmann, Theodore F., Bethlehem, Pa.
Hartz, Mrs. Nevin L., Bethlehem, Pa.
Hassler, Prof. Roy D., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Haupert, Dr. Raymond S., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Haupert, Mrs. R. S., Bethlehem, Pa.
Haupt, Jean K., Nazareth, Pa.
*Heckman, Mrs. Fred. D., Nazareth, Pa
Hedgecock, Rev. Allen S., Nazareth, Pa.
Hedgecock, Mrs. Allen S., Nazareth, Pa.
Heilman, Charles G., Brookfield Hills, Mich.
Heine, Mrs. Rose S. K., Bethlehem, Pa.
Heintzelman, Joseph H., Nazareth, Pa.
Heintzelman, Mrs. Joseph H., Nazareth, Pa.
Heller, Dr. James, Bethlehem, Pa.
Helmich, The Rt. Rev. Carl J., Lititz, Pa.
Helmich, Mrs. Carl J., Lititz, Pa.
Helmich, Rev. Carl, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
Henkelmann, Clarence, Kwethluk, Alaska
Henkelmann, Rev. David, New York, N. Y.
Henkelmann, Rev. Marvin, Virgin Islands, U. S. A.
Henkelmann, Rev. Reinhold, Coopersburg, Pa.
L-Henry, Miss Harriet L., Nazareth, Pa.
L-Henry, Miss Helen M., Nazareth, Pa.
L-Henry, James E., Coral Gables, Fla.
*Henry, Robert T., Haddonfield, N. J.
L-Henry, William B., Old Greenwich, Conn.
L-Henry, William E., Nazareth, Pa
Henry, Mrs. Wm. E , Nazareth, Pa.
Hermsted, Mrs. Conrad, Bethlehem, Pa.

Honeycutt, Mrs. Jesse V., Bethlehem, Pa.
Horne, Dr. Byron K., Lititz, Pa.
L-Hoyler, Prof. Cyril N., Princeton, N. J.
Huebener, Miss Mary A., Lititz, Pa.
Huebener, Rev. Louis, Lititz, Pa.
L-Hutchinson, R. P., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Hutchinson, Mrs. R. P., Bethlehem, Pa.
Huth, F. Robert, Nazareth, Pa.
Huth, Frank R., Nazareth, Pa.
Huth, Mrs. Frank R., Nazareth, Pa.

Iobst, Clarence, Emmaus, Pa.

Jameson, William H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Jameson, Mrs. William H., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Jarrett, Mrs. Margaret A., Kew Garden Hills, N. Y.
L-Jennings, Albert Edward, Bethlehem, Pa.
Johansen, Rev. John H., Winston-Salem, N. C.
Johnson, Mrs. Albert S., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Johnston, Arch B., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Johnston, Mrs. Arch B., Bethlehem, Pa.
Johnstone, Franklin B., Philadelphia, Pa.
L-Jones, Mrs. B. H., California
*Jones, C. W., Nazareth, Pa.
Jones, Rev. Daniel, Lancaster, Pa.
Jones, Rev. David R., Bluefields, Nicaragua
*Jones, Dr. J. Richard, Quakertown, Pa.
Jones, Lloyd B., Bethlehem, Pa.
Jones, Mrs. Lloyd B., Bethlehem, Pa.
Jones, Mrs. Jonathan, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Jost, Mrs. Gordon, Bethlehem, Pa.

*Kachline, Miss Susan, Nazareth, Pa.
*Kehl, Mrs. Rebecca, Allentown, Pa.
*Kemmerer, Annie, Museum, Bethlehem, Pa.
Kempfer, Joseph E., Bethlehem, Pa.
Kern, Andrew G., Nazareth, Pa.
*Kern, Mrs. Andrew G., Nazareth, Pa.
Kern, Mrs. Helen A., Nazareth, Pa.
L-Kern, Mrs. Nellie, Philadelphia, Pa.
Kindt, Robert W., Nazareth, Pa.
Kirkhuff, J. H., Coopersburg, Pa.
L-Kirts, Rev. Donald, New Philadelphia, O.
L-Knapp, Miss Mary, Bethlehem, Pa.
Knecht, J. Frederick, Nazareth, Pa.
Knouss, Mrs. Francis T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Koehler, Miss Helen, Nazareth, Pa.
Kortz, Dr. Edwin W., Bethlehem, Pa.
Kortz, Mrs. Edwin W., Bethlehem, Pa.
Kortz, William H., Nazareth, Pa.
Kortz, Mrs. William H., Nazareth, Pa.
Krause, Miss A. Catherine, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Krause, Miss Iva, Bethlehem, Pa.
Krause, Mrs. James E., Bethlehem, Pa.
Kremer, Mrs. H. Donald, Bethlehem, Pa.
Kremser, Harold Le R., Temple, Pa.
Kuehl, Rev. H. A., Staten Island, N. Y.
Kuehl, Mrs. H. A., Staten Island, N. Y.
Kutz, Mrs. Carrie E., Bethlehem, Pa.

*Lacy, Mrs. Ralph L., Alabama
Laidman, Mrs. Virginia V., Bethlehem, Pa.
Lantz, William B., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Lawson, Mrs. Theodore, Oakland, Calif.
Leh, Mrs. Andrew S., Nazareth, Pa.
*Leh, Ruth R., Nazareth, Pa.
Lehman, Revere R., Alburtis, Pa.
Leibert, Miss E. Pauline, Bethlehem, Pa.
Leibfried, John E., Bethlehem, Pa.
Lenius, Mrs. Mary B., Bethlehem, Pa.
Lennox, Miss Grace C. M., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Lesh, William S., Stroudsburg, Pa.
L-Levers, H. O., Bethlehem, Pa.
Lewis, Rev. A. J., Manchester, Eng.
Loux, Mrs. Ella, Nazareth, Pa.
Luckenbach, Miss Martha O., Bethlehem, Pa
Luckenbach, Leonard J., Bethlehem, Pa.
Luckenbach, Robert, Easton, Pa.

McCall, Mrs. Donald, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-McGeehan, Mrs. Charlotte S., Bethlehem, Pa
Mabus, George, Nazareth, Pa.
L-Mack, Elmer L., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Mack, Mrs. Elmer L., Bethlehem, Pa.
Mack, James D., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Mackie, Alexander, Philadelphia, Pa.
Martin, C. Frederick, Nazareth, Pa.
Martin, Mrs. Frank, Nazareth, Pa.
L-Masland, Miss Marion W., Philadelphia, Pa.
L-Maurer, Dr. Joseph A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Maurer, Mrs. Kathleen, Bethlehem, Pa.
Meilicke, Dr. Francis V., Bethlehem, Pa.

Melhado, Mrs. Mary S., Bethlehem, Pa.
Mewaldt, Mrs. I. R., Madison, Wis.
Michael, Raymond H., Nazareth, Pa.
Michel, Rev. Bernard E., Davenport, N. D.
Miller, Miss Anna K., Lititz, Pa.
Miller, Harry J., Bethlehem, Pa.
Miller, Robert W., Bethlehem, Pa.
Miller, William B., Bethlehem, Pa.
Miller, William T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Miller, Mrs. William T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Milshsack, Miss Pauline A., Bethlehem, Pa.
More, Edgar A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Morgenstern, Harvey, Phillipsburg, N. J.
Morgenstern, Mrs. Harvey, Phillipsburg, N. J.
Morris, Miss Frances K , Madison, Wis.
Morris, Mrs. Harry T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Morris, Joseph K., Bethlehem, Pa.
Morris, Matthew K., Nazareth, Pa.
Morris, Mrs. Matthew K., Nazareth, Pa.
Moyer, Mrs. Anna B., Allentown, Pa.
Moyer, Charles E., Bethlehem, Pa.
Mueller, Paul E., Springtown, Pa.
Mueller, Dr. Theophil, Connecticut
Munger, James S., Nazareth, Pa.
Murray, Miss Annie V., Bethlehem, Pa.
Murray, Josephine L., Wilgraham, Mass.
Murray, Miss Marion H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Musselman, Miss Alma M. Bethlehem, Pa.
Myers, Dr. Richmond, Bethlehem, Pa.
Myers, Mrs. Ruth Becker, Bethlehem, Pa.

Nehring, Rev. Arthur, Hellertown, Pa.
Nehring, Bernard Ludwig, Bethlehem, Pa.
Nelson, Mrs. Paul A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Nitzsche, Dr. George E., Germantown, Pa.
Nonnemaker, Miss Daisy, Bethlehem, Pa.
Nowack, Carl F., Watertown, Wis.

Olsen, Godfrey B., Staatsburg, N. Y.
Olsen, Marjorie B., Staatsburg, N. Y.

Péters, Walter L., Nazareth, Pa.
Peters, Mrs. Walter L., Nazareth, Pa.
Petrulias, Mrs. G. A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Pfohl, Herbert A., Winston-Salem, N. C
Pfohl, The Rt. Rev. J. Kenneth, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Pharo, Mrs. J. Donald, Bethlehem, Pa.
Pharo, John W., Bethlehem, Pa.
Pharo, Robert S., Nazareth, Pa.
*Philhower, Charles H., Westfield, N. J.
Pohl, Dr. H. C., Nazareth, Pa.
*Putnam, Mrs. N. K., Bethlehem, Pa.

Rabbach, Douglas, Watertown, Wis.
Rathbun, Mrs. George, Bethlehem, Pa.
Rau, Henry B., Bethlehem, Pa.
Rau, Mrs. Henry B., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Reed, Miss Martha G., Allentown, Pa.
Reese, Truman J., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Reichard, Robert B., Nazareth, Pa.
Reusswig, Miss Harriet M., Collingswood, N. J.
Rights, Rev. Burton, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Rights, Herbert T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Rominger, Dr. Charles H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Rominger, Mrs. Charles H., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Root, Miss Harriet F., Bethlehem, Pa.
Ross, Mrs. Ira, Springtown, Pa.
*Ruhe, F. Donald, Allentown, Pa.

Sartwell, Miss Halcyon, Bethlehem, Pa.
Sanders, Robert K., Hellertown, Pa.
Sauerwine, Rev. Dean H., Frys Valley, Ohio
Sawyer, Dr. Edwin A., Nazareth, Pa.
Sawyer, O. J., Bethlehem, Pa.
Sawyer, Mrs. O. J., Bethlehem, Pa.
Seyfried, Frank, Nazareth, Pa.
L-Seyfried, Mrs. Frank, Nazareth, Pa.
*Seyfried, Mrs. Wilhelmina, Nazareth, Pa.
Schaffstall, Marlin, Lancaster, Pa.
Schattachneider, Dr. Allen W., Staten Island, N. Y.
*Schissler, Melvin, Bethlehem, Pa.
Schlegel, Henry J., Nazareth, Pa.
Schlegel, Jacob, Bethlehem, Pa.
Schlough, Ralph, Easton, Pa.
Schlough, Mrs. Ralph, Easton, Pa.
Schmickly, Mrs. Carl, Bethlehem, Pa.
Schmid, Mrs. James, Bethlehem, Pa.
*Schmidt, Frank H., Nazareth, Pa.
Schmuckle, Miss Emma, Nazareth, Pa.
Schmuckle, Miss Katharine, Nazareth, Pa.
Schrempel, Mrs. Frances K., Bethlehem, Pa.

Schrempel, Walter A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Schupp, John L., Bethlehem, Pa.
Schupp, Mrs. John L., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Schwarz, Ralph G , Bethlehem, Pa.
Schwarze, Mrs. Ethel G., Bethlehem, Pa.
Scott, Mrs. Richard, Nazareth, Pa.
Shaberg, The Rt. Rev. P. W., South Africa
Shafer, Mrs. Robert E., Bethlehem, Pa.
Shay, Rev. Earl, Hope, Ind.
Shields, Mrs. Edgar T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Shields, Mrs. T. W., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Shimer, Charles L., Nazareth, Pa.
*Shimer, Mrs. Charles L., Nazareth, Pa.
L-Shimer, Henry A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Shonk, Mrs. J. J., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Schultz, Rachel, Philadelphia, Pa.
*Skibo, Mrs. Alice, Bethlehem, Pa.
*Skillman, David B., Easton, Pa.
L-Smith, Mrs. Leon, Scranton, Pa.
*Smith, Martin A., Easton, Pa.
Smull, Judson, G., Bethlehem, Pa.
Snively, Miss Mary S., Bethlehem, Pa.
Snyder, Mrs. Barbara H., Lititz, , Pa.
Snyder, Robert P., Bethlehem, Pa.
Sommers, Gordon, Bethlehem, Pa.
Spaugh, Rev. Herbert D., Charlotte, N. C.
Spencer, Mrs. Gertrude Levering, Bethlehem, Pa.
Steckel, Mrs. Julia C., Blairstown, N. J.
Stephan, Rev. Earl E., Rudolph, Wis.
Stephens, Mrs. Allen W., Bethlehem, Pa.
Stevens, Mrs. James, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Stites, Mrs. Mary A., Nazareth, Pa.
L-Stites, Miss Mary Henry, Nazareth, Pa.
Stocker, Mrs. Alice B., Charlottesville, Va.
Stocker, Dr. Chester G., Philadelphia, Pa.
Stocker, Dr. F. P., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Stofflet, Walter Reed, Nazareth, Pa.
Stoudt, Walter C., Emmaus, Pa.
Stroman, Earl, Nazareth, Pa.
Stroman, Mrs. Earl, Nazareth, Pa.
Strohmeier, Clara A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Sturgis, Albert J., Nazareth, Pa.
Sundberg, George A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Sundberg, Mrs. Geo. A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Swavely, Rev. Edward H., Nazareth, Pa.
Swavely, Nevin J., Allentown, Pa.

Taylor, George A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Taylor, Robert S. Jr., Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Thaeler, Dr. A. David, Nicaragua, Central America
L-Thaeler, Abram S., Cleveland, Ohio
L-Thaeler, Charles S., Chatham, N. J.
Thomas, Dr. Victor L., Madison, Wisconsin
Titlow, J. Seward, Bethlehem, Pa.
*Traeger, Mrs. Charles, Bethlehem, Pa.
Trageser, Mrs. Paul A., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Turman, Miss Lillie, Bethlehem, Pa.
Turner, George D., Bethlehem, Pa.
Turner, Mrs. George D., Bethlehem, Pa.

Van Lehn, Ralph E., Winston-Salem, N. C.
Vaughn, Mrs. A. C., Bethlehem, Pa.
*Vonlang, Frederick W., Bethlehem, Pa.

L-Wahl, Richard A., Lewes, Del.
Wallace, G. I., Madison, Wis.
*Wallace, Dr. Paul A. W., New Cumberland,
Warner, Paul T., Easton, Pa.
Weaver, Rev. James A., Reading, Pa.
Weber, Charles B., Winston-Salem, N. C.
Weber, Rev. Christian D., Winston-Salem, N
Weinland, Mrs. Mary, Bethlehem, Pa.
Weinland, Rev. William J., Warsaw, Ohio
Weinlick, Dr. John R., Bethlehem, Pa.
Weinlick, Mrs. John R., Bethlehem, Pa.
Weiss, Mrs. William L., Bethlehem, Pa.
Wesner, Miss Jean, Bethlehem, Pa.
L-Wilbur, E. P. Jr., Bethlehem, Pa.

*Wilford, Mrs. Helen I., Williamsburg, Va.
Wilhelm, Frederick H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Williams, Mrs. Margaret E., New Mexico
Williams, Rev. Henry L., Philadelphia, Pa.
L-Wilson, Miss Muriel L., Bethlehem, Pa.
Winn, Mrs. Mary Miller, Nazareth, Pa.
Wunderly, Miss Carolyn, Nazareth, Pa.
Wunderly, Frank T., Allentown, Pa.

L-Yaeck, Rev. Milton A., Emmaus, Pa.

Zeller, Gerhard, D., Bethlehem, Pa.
Zeller, Rev. Samuel, Bethlehem, Pa.
Zeller, Mrs. Samuel, Bethlehem, Pa.
Zerweck, Robert J., Bethlehem, Pa.
Ziegler, Miss Anna, Nazareth, Pa.
Zieglcr, Robert F., Nazareth, Pa.
Ziegler, Mrs. Robert F., Nazareth, Pa.
L-Zilka, Rev. Frank, D.D., Czechoslovakia
Zimmerman, Rev. Allen P., Gnadenhutten, C
Zug, Mrs. Charles K., Bethlehem, Pa.

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I NAME AND PURPOSE

"This association shall be called 'The Moravian Historical Society', and its object shall be the elucidation of the History of the Moravian Church.

ARTICLE II MEMBERSHIP

"The Society shall be composed of such persons as have been, or may be, admitted, from time to time, according to its laws and regulations.

ARTICLE III OFFICERS

"The Officers of the Society shall annually be chosen by a majority of ballots, at the Annual Meeting in October, and shall consist of a President, not more than ten Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Librarian. The Officers so chosen shall enter upon the duties of their offices immediately after the annual meeting. If the Society neglect to hold an election at the specified time, the Officers of the preceding year shall continue in office until the next annual meeting.

ARTICLE IV PRESIDENT

"It shall be the duty of the President, or in his absence, of the Vice-Presidents, in rotation, to preside at the meetings of the Society, to preserve order, to regulate the debates, state motions and resolutions, and to announce the decisions thereupon. If neither the President nor any of the Vice-Presidents be present at a meeting, the Society may choose a member to act as President.

ARTICLE V SECRETARY

"The Secretary shall keep full and correct minutes of the meetings of the Society and Executive Board, and shall transcribe the same into a book of record. He shall give due notice of all meetings that may be called.

ARTICLE VI TREASURER

"The Treasurer shall have charge of the moneys and other funds belonging to the Society. He shall collect the contributions of the members and other income of the Society, and shall pay such claims against the Society as shall have been duly examined and ordered to be paid. He shall present, at the Annual Meeting, a statement of the receipts and expenditures during the preceding year, with a full report on the financial condition of the Society. And it shall be the duty of the Executive Board to have the Treasurer's accounts audited previous to every Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE VII LIBRARIAN

"The Librarian shall have charge of the books, manuscripts, and other property in the rooms of the Society, and shall arrange and preserve the same in proper and convenient order under the supervision of the Library and Museum Committee. He shall keep a catalogue of the books, manuscripts, and other donations, with the names of donors. At the Annual Meeting he shall present a report to the Society, embracing an account of his administration of the Library and Museum, and of its condition during the preceding year.

ARTICLE VIII VACANCIES IN OFFICE

"The Executive Board shall fill all vacancies that occur in any of the above named offices; but such appointment shall be only for the unexpired term of the person vacating the office.

ARTICLE IX ANNUAL MEETING

"The Annual Meeting shall be held on the second Thursday in October. Special meetings may be called by the President, or in his absence by any of the Vice-Presidents at the written request of at least three members of the Society, of which meeting due notice must be given. The members present at any meeting shall constitute a quorum."

BY-LAWS OF THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I ACTIVE MEMBERS

"Any person belonging to the Moravian Church may become an Active Member upon application to any officer of the Society. Such application shall be presented to the Executive Board at its next regular or special meeting. The acceptance of such applicant by the Executive Board shall at once constitute the said applicant an Active Member of the Society without any further action of the Society as a whole.

ARTICLE II HONORARY MEMBERS

"Any person distinguished in historical investigation, or who has been active in and rendered exceptional service to the Society shall be eligible for Honorary Membership and may be elected at the same meeting at which his name shall have been proposed to the Society by its Executive Board. He shall be exempt from the payment of contributions and may attend meetings of the Society and enjoy all the rights of active members except those of voting and holding office.

ARTICLE III ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

"Any person not belonging to the Moravian Church may become an Associate Member upon application to any officer of the Society. Such application shall be presented to the Executive Board at its next regular or special meeting. The acceptance of such applicant by the Executive Board shall at once constitute the said applicant an Associate Member of the Society without any further action of the Society as a whole. Associate Members may attend any meeting of the Society and enjoy all the rights of Active Members, except that of voting and holding office.

ARTICLE IV REPORT OF NEW MEMBERS

"The names of all Active and Associate Members thus accepted by the Executive Board shall be communicated to the Society at the next ensuing Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE V QUALIFICATION TO VOTE

"Those Active Members shall be deemed qualified voters at the meetings and elections, who have paid all their annual contributions to the Society.

ARTICLE VI CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP

"There shall be five classes of Active and Associate Members as follows:

1. *Regular Members*—those making the minimum annual contribution of $2.00 per year.

2. *Contributing Members*—any member contributing $5.00 or more per year.

3. *Sustaining Members*—any member contributing $10.00 or more per year.

4. *Life Members*—any member, who is not then in arrears contributing $30.00 or more at one time.

5. *Benefactors*—any member contributing $500.00 or more at one time.

The contributions of Life Members and Benefactors shall be added to the Publication Fund of the Society. Any member who shall fail to pay the minimum annual contribution for three years shall forfeit his membership, and his name shall be stricken from the roll.

ARTICLE VII MANAGERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD

"At the Annual Meeting 5 managers shall be chosen by the Society, who, together with the officers of the Society, shall constitute an Executive Board, with full power to direct the business affairs of the Society at all times; and they shall meet at the call of the President or any two members of the board.

ARTICLE VIII COMMITTEES

"The Society has three regular Standing Committees: a Library and Museum Committee, a Publication Committee,

a Graveyard and Monument Committee. These committees shall be elected at the Annual Meeting unless the Society shall direct otherwise, on nomination by a Nominating Committee. The first named member of any committee shall convene it within thirty days to elect a chairman who shall be responsible for the discharge of the duties of the committee. A majority of any committee shall be a quorum.

A Nominating Committee shall annually be appointed by the president at least sixty days before the annual meeting to nominate officers and committee members.

ARTICLE IX LIBRARY AND MUSEUM COMMITTEE

"The Library and Museum Committee shall have charge of the library and museum in the Society's rooms in the Whitefield House and shall have supervision over the Librarian. It shall be responsible for the care, maintenance, preservation and display of the contents as well as of the acquisition of new material and the disposition of material unsuitable for the library and museum or not within the object of the Society. This committee shall also be responsible for the sale of the Transactions.

ARTICLE X PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

"The Publication Committee shall have responsibility for editing and publishing the Transactions of the Society and selecting the articles to be published; provided that before incurring any indebtedness for printing the transactions it shall obtain the approval of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE XI GRAVEYARD AND MONUMENT COMMITTEE

"The Graveyard and Monument Committee shall be responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of the sites owned by the Society, or on which the Society has erected monuments, or for which the Society is responsible and shall report the conditions thereof at the Annual Meeting.

The Society now owns or is responsible for the following Graveyards and Monuments:

1. Indian Monument and Cemetery near Nazareth, Pa.
2. Meniolagomeka Monument at Smith's Gap, Monroe County, Pa.
3. Wechquetank, at Gilberts, Monroe County, Pa.
4. The Rose Inn, north-east of Nazareth, Pa.
5. Shekomeko in Dutchess County, N. Y.
6. Wechquadnach near Sharon, Conn.
7. Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning at Lehighton, Pa.
8. Wyalusing near Wyalusing, Pa.
9. Danbury at Stroudsburg, Pa.
10. Zeisberger Memorial in the cemetery at Goshen, Tuscarawas Co. Ohio.

ARTICLE XII EXECUTIVE BOARD

"The Executive Board shall have general management of the affairs of the Society, including the investing of its moneys and endowments. It shall annually make available to the Publication Committee 50 per cent of all *unallocated income* including contributions for membership other than those received for life membership and from benefactors, from admission fees or collections at the museum and from funds held for a special purpose. *All* income from sale of the transactions and other publications, both current and prior issues, shall be used exclusively for publications. Any balance of said funds allotted to the Publication Committee at the end of any year shall be held in reserve for the Publication Committee. The balance of the unallocated income shall be used for the general purposes of the Society.

ARTICLE XIII

"The order of business at the meetings of the Society shall be as follows:

1. Reading of minutes of preceding meeting
2. Reports of Officers, Executive Board and Committees
3. Report on election of new members and deceased members
4. Unfinished business
5. New business
6. Report of Nominating Committee
7. Election of Officers, Managers and Committees
8. Adjournment

ARTICLE XIV ANNUAL REPORT

"At the Annual Meeting the Executive Board shall present a report of the transactions and general condition of the Society during the preceding year.

ARTICLE XV AMENDMENTS

"No alteration shall be made in this Constitution or By-laws unless the proposed amendments shall have been drawn up in writing and presented to the Executive Board at any meeting of the same, said amendments to be acted upon at the next Annual Meeting."

A CENTENNIAL SURVEY OF THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1857 TO 1957

By Robert H. Brennecke

PART I

The first fifty years of the Moravian Historical Society's life have been very well reviewed by the late Henry A. Jacobson in two papers contained in volumes four and eight of our Transactions. I shall touch the events of those years very lightly, paying special attention to the last fifty years and then survey the remarkable historical treasure to be found in our printed Transactions.

The first public move toward the organization of this society was the publication in "The Moravian" of December 19, 1856, of a letter to the editor suggesting that through the forming of such a society a great deal of light might be thrown on the early history of the Brethren's Church in America, beside preserving many a precious relic connected with the history and customs of our forefathers. This letter, signed "Pierrepont" may well have been written by the Rev. J. C. Brickenstein whom Prof. Jacobson credits with having made the first suggestion of such an organization. The first meeting of interested persons was held at Nazareth Hall on March 3rd, 1857. A constitution was adopted and officers were elected: Mr. James Henry as president and the Rev. Eugene Leibert recording secretary. During later months of that year the constitution was printed in "The Moravian" and circulars were distributed through all Moravian congregations soliciting gifts or deposits of books and pamphlets relating to the Moravian Church from the earliest times, *for or against Moravianism*, printed sermons and other religious literature produced by Moravians, *printed or manuscript histories* and statistics of congregations,manuscript *journals*, *autobiographies*, *letters*, maps, pictures and relics. By the end of the year there were 7 life members, 25 active members, a library of nearly 500 volumes and a small collection of relics in the museum.

At first the property of the society was stored in the northwest room of the old church on the Hall Square and it was successively moved to Daniel Wilhelm's tailor-shop, temporarily to the Whitefield House and then to the second story front room of the Nazareth Parochial School building; finally in the Fall of

1871 the Society found its permanent home in the Whitefield House. Mr. John Jordan Jr. of Philadelphia had in that year purchased that house and lot from the trustees of the Nazareth Moravian Church and deeded it in trust to the Society for Propagating the Gospel as a "Home for visiting and retired or pensioned missionaries or ministers of the Moravian Church *providing* that the Moravian Historical Society occupy, use and enjoy the second story of the building for the purposes of said society so long as it shall continue to exist". (In this year 1957 it is quite startling to note that the cost of the property together with interior renovations was only $6125.29!) Twelve years later it was found necessary to build shelves in a room on the third floor for the accommodation of almost complete files of Moravian periodicals. just going into their second century of publication.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the society, in 1907, Mr. William H. Jordan, by a gift of $6,000. to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, made possible the addition of an extension to the building, in memory of his father, Francis H. Jordan. This enlarged the size of the structure by about one third and greatly increased its usefulness both as a home and as the headquarters for our society.

The beautiful growth of ivy covering the northwest gable of the House was brought originally from Zauchtental in Moravia (one of the fifteenth century Moravian churches) by the Rev. Wm. H. Rice in 1869. (Transactions Vol IV, page 333.) The great boulder and bronze tablet on the front lawn were placed there in 1932 and in 1935 and '37 the concrete curb and gutter were placed around the property by co-operation with the Public Works Administration.

The society's keen appreciation of the value of original historic documents was evident in the provision made in 1886 that such priceless treasures as the old Bohemian Brethren's hymnal and Zeisberger's Manuscript of the Delaware Indian language should be placed for safe-keeping in the Nazareth Hall safe. In 1928 a fire-proof safe-cabinet of generous size was purchased and the Library Committee reported that 89 specially valuable papers had been deposited in it. Similarly excellent steel filing cabinets for invaluable maps and tracings were presented to our library by the Bi-centennial Committee of Nazareth in 1940.

The year 1953 witnessed great improvements in the society's

home. The west-end chimney was rebuilt and a new roof placed on the house, the society contributing the sum of $1280. of the cost to the trustees. But in addition to this, volunteer labor under the enthusiastic leadership of Brother Walter Peters of the Library Committee accomplished very extensive renovations, painting and lighting in the interior at an estimated value of $3500.

The first of the John Valentine Haidt paintings was restored by Bro. and Sister Peters with great success in 1953 and thus was started the renovation and restoration of 18 of Haidt's religious paintings and four portraits now in the possession of our society. All of this splendid project was achieved through the private subscription of over $5,000 by generous individuals and some organizations as the result of the contagious enthusiasm of Mr. and Mrs. Peters.

The John Antes violin of 1759 has been reconditioned by the C. F. Martin Co. who have also presented the society with a century-old guitar made by Christian Frederick Martin. The Hesselius pipe-organ, considered to be the first one built in the United States, and the clavicytherium, which has been here since 1745, have both been reconditioned. They are priceless possessions.

The society at first limited its membership to Moravians but since 1869 non-Moravians may become associate members. It was incorporated in 1860 and its official seal was procured in 1880. (It seems that at one time this seal was duly affixed to certificates of life membership. This practice might profitably be resumed.) From the first a number of women were members of the society but they were not invited to the vespers until 1860. The first vesper was held on Thanksgiving Day, 1858, when fourteen members partook of sugar-cake and coffee. These delightful occasions have been held annually ever since and the ladies have been a very important factor in their social success. So far I have not discovered when the traditional menu of bread and butter, ham, dried beef, apple-butter and cheese, were first added to the sugar-cake and coffee.) It was in 1921 that it was found necessary to hold the vesper in the Social Rooms of the church because of the size of the attendance, about 225.

In the early years the society directed some of its attention towards the erecting of suitable memorials on the sites of former

mission-stations, chiefly among the Indians in Pennsylvania and New York. Volume VIII of our Transactions gives so good an account of the earlier of these memorial markers that I shall not repeat it. However in 1908 we shared in placing a bronze plaque for David Zeisberger in the Sharon, O. church. A new Rest House was erected on the old Indian Graveyard (Nazareth's first burial-place) in 1916 and '17 at a cost of $1275. raised by subscription. We shared with the Daughters of the American Revolution in placing a granite boulder on the site of Zeisberger's Friedenstadt mission near New Castle, Pa. in 1922. In 1931 markers were placed on the Brethern's House and the Sisters' House in Nazareth.

The society took a deep interest in the restoration of the 18th century Moravian Indian village of Schoenbrunn, O. by the Ohio Historical and Archaeological Society and in 1924 it presented the original Schoenbrunn church bell to that society through the Rev. Joseph E. Weinland for use in the restored log church.

One hundred years ago the Moravian Historical Society was organized by twelve local persons interested in the history of the Moravian Church. The organization had no official backing, no quarters, no books or manuscripts and no financial resources. To-day it has 277 active members, 70 associate members and 84 life members: a total of 431, representing several denominations and a geographical range which includes Europe as well as America.

Our society to-day holds Trust Funds totalling $13,445. In the course of the first century it has invested very nearly $10,000. in its published Transactions.

The recent organization of the Whitefield Guild, by our librarian and curator, Brother Edward H. Swavely, has again broadened the public interest in our library and museum. These 20 women meet monthly for the study of the historical background of our Moravian heritage and give their services as guides especially for large groups of serious visitors to the society's rooms. Their wearing the traditional garb of Moravian sisters of old adds a fine historic and quaint touch.

PART II

OUR SOCIETY'S CONTRIBUTION TO MORAVIAN LITERATURE

True to its definitely stated purpose of elucidating the history of the Moravian Church, the Moravian Historical Society has made a very valuable contribution to Moravian and early American literature by the publication of 16 volumes of Transactions, covering over 6000 pages. From the beginning the acquisition and preservation of books and manuscripts of an historical nature and the publication of books and papers produced through its encouragement has been its most valuable activity. By the year 1894 the society already possessed 1175 books, 2400 pamphlets, 106 manuscripts, 261 pictures, 19 maps and a few hundred relics. The publication of historical pamphlets was begun in 1859 and proceeded so energetically that volume One of the Transactions was completed in 1876, a book of 479 pages, (containing some twenty papers and documents,) a veritable gold mine of Moravian data. The bulk of this material is to be found no where else except in original manuscripts written largely in German.

Volume I contains detailed accounts of the First and Second "Sea Congregations" of 1742 and 1743. I quote: "Whenever the Moravian Brethren of the middle of the eighteenth century had obtained full control of a transport ship by charter or otherwise, they introduced among the passengers on board a complete social and religious organization corresponding closely to that established in their congregations at home. Regular times were set apart for their various religious meetings; chaplains, teachers, exhorters and nurses were provided. Each member was assigned to a mess and hammock company and his place and duty in every contingency were designated. The days spent on the ocean (usually 2-3 months) were not to be wasted but must be employed in preparing and instructing their minds and in promoting their growth in grace. Although sickness, storms and perils from privateers interfered with prescribed rules, yet ship-life proved to be a season of rich mental and spiritual activity and enjoyment and tended to increase their bodily comfort and well-being." The 33 young couples who had been married in the same service in Marienborn, Germany, on May 27, 1743 and consecrated as the future congregation of Nazareth, Pa. formed about half of the "Second Sea Congregation" which set sail from

Rotterdam, under Captain Garrison, on September 16, 1743. The ship dropped anchor in front of Captain Garrison's house on Staten Island N. Y. on November 26, 1743. After the ship had proceeded to New York on the following day and been cleared at customs, she returned to anchorage at Staten Island and that evening the first love feast of the Second Sea Congregation in this country was celebrated—the materials used being—*American bread and American apples*! Thirty-three of the young couples arrived at Nazareth *on foot* on January 2, 1744.

There could hardly be a document of greater value for the historic researcher than "*A List of Bohemian and Moravian Emigrants to Saxony*" (Vol IX p. 37), covering 200 pages of original manuscript by George Neisser, who himself emigrated from Moravia in 1723 with his father and became the first schoolmaster of Bethlehem. This invaluable list of 648 names representing about 150 families was translated and edited by Albert G. Rau. Said he: "These names may be presumed to measure to some extent the total amount of the Bohemian and Moravian contribution to the Renewed Moravian Church." The mere mention of a few names in the list conjures up whole chapters of Moravian activity both in Europe and in this country covering decades, e.g. David Nitschman, David Zeisberger, David Tanneberger, Matthew Stach, John Heckewelder, George Schmidt, John Beck and Martin Linner.

The Rev. Abraham Reinke, born in Stockholm in 1712, twice a student in the University of Jena, was a friend of Peter Boehler and joined the Moravian Brethren in 1738. He came to America in 1744 and served the church actively in various capacities and localities, last in New York City. Thereafter he withdrew from more active work to be custodian in the church archives in Bethlehem. The result of his labors there was the priceless "*Register of Members of the Moravian Church and of Persons attached to said Church in This Country and Abroad between 1727 and 1754.*" This Register was transcribed and annotated by the Rev. W. C. Reichel in 1873 and covers 162 pages in Vol. I of our Transactions. It is a collection of historical data concerning the early activities of our Moravian forefathers in Berthelsdorf, Saxony, the Fetter Lane Society in London, the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, the London congregation, Moravians in Yorkshire and other English counties, central and western Germany, Holland and all of the early settlements in this country.

However, this Register gives to him who peruses it only such brief personal and historical data that he is bound to search for more in order to fit it all into a comprehensive narrative. In Volume V we find some 190 pages containing hundreds of brief but authentic biographical sketches concerning the more than 2600 persons whose mortal remains lie buried in "*The Old Moravian Cemetery in Bethlehem, Pa.*" It was compiled by the late Dr. Augustus Schultze, president of Moravian College & Theological Seminary. These records of burial extend from 1742 to 1897 and are based on the official Record of Interments. They vary in length from a single line to about two hundred words, giving many essential facts about not only men and women who had been outstanding officials and members of the church but also about the converted Mohican Indian Tschoop, (possibly "The Last of the Mohicans"): Dr. John Matthew Otto who was a successful physician in Bethlehem from 1750 to 1786; John Frederick Peter, now become famous as organist and composer; Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, the outstanding Moravian historian, and many others.

In volume VII there are two more rich sources of historical information in the records of "*The Moravian Graveyards at Nazareth*" and "*The Moravian Graveyards of Lititz. Pa.*" In connection with the former account the Rev. Edwin Kluge has also given the words and tunes of the hymns traditionally used by the trombonists when announcing deaths in the congregation. Here also you will find the story of the so-called "Indian Cemetery", Nazareth's first burial ground, its restoration in 1867 and some valuable data about those buried both there and in the Second Graveyard (the present one) up to the year 1904. In the Lititz records, Brother Abraham R. Beck, head of the famous Beck Family School, has not only given us necrological data but also the following item. "In 1770 trombones were substituted for French horns in the church music". A real life tale, strange as any fiction, is also recorded about the unmarried Sister Maria Christina Schmidt, 1746 to 1774. She became a captive when nine years old of ravaging Indians near Graceham, Md. She witnessed some of her fellow-captives bound to trees and having sticks of resinous wood stuck into their bodies and then set afire, the torture continuing from morning to night. Rescued once from the death-hug of a bear and again from drowning, she was in 1757 taken to Philadelphia by three Indian

chiefs and, because of a treaty of peace, set free and taken by a kind Quaker family. A man claiming to be her father took her to Lancaster where the Moravian synod of 1758 was attended by her parents. Hearing about the girl, the parents went to see her and, after mutual recognition and absolute identification, she was legally restored to her own family. The happy group was presented to the assembled synod and in the presence of Bishop Spangenberg she was, in accordance with her long-cherished desire dedicated to Christian service and assigned to the Sisters' House in Bethlehem.

Here, too, we find thumb-nail life-stories of Bishop Matthew Hehl, for twenty years principal pastor at Lititz; Anna Rosina Tannenberg, wife of the famous organ-builder; Mary Penry, daughter of a distinguished surgeon in Wales who was told about Bethlehem and its Sisters' House by John Valentine Haidt, joined it and a few years later went to the Lititz Sisters' House and there rendered distinguished service as a diarist, bookkeeper, secretary and visitors' guide for about forty years; of John Beck, the talented school-master of the Lititz Academy which was attended by 2326 boys over a period of fifty years; and finally I mention General John Aug. Sutter on whose land in California the famous gold discovery was made in 1847.

Between 1861 and 1873 Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz prepared a series of ten "*Brief Biographies of Fathers of the American Moravian Church*", based on twenty rare and partly manuscript sources. They are to be found in Volume II, pp. 146 to 269. These include the following bishops: David Nitschman, John C. Camerhoff, John de Watteville, Peter Boehler, Nathan Seidel, John M. Mack, John Ettwein and Matthew Hehl, as well as Father David Nitschman, called the founder of Bethlehem and Francis Lembke, the learned professor of Strasbourg and for thirty years pastor, schoolman and Provincial Elder here in Nazareth. A thoughtful reading of these ten biographies would be a wonderful education in Moravianism for almost anyone.

The most outstanding biography is that of "*Bishop John Ettwein and the Moravian Church during the Revolution*" by Dr. Kenneth G. Hamilton in Vol. XII, 85-429. There are a number of very satisfactory shorter biographies of Adam Grube, Abraham Luckenbach, William Henry, John C. Pyrlaeus, John Antes, the musician, Christian Hueffel and William Persons, the founder of Easton, Pa. Obituary notices of members of the

society itself in not a few instances furnish valuable information. However this reviewer feels that occasionally these obituaries have not done justice to the importance of deceased members.

A large part of our Transactions is, of course, devoted to records, usually based on original documents, of settlements established by Moravians in various American localities. Some of the more pretentious of these accounts concern the Philadelphia First Church, Lancaster, Emmaus, Lititz and Nazareth, Pa. Graceham, Md. and the congregations in Ohio and on Staten Island. However the records of Christian Spring (west of Nazareth), "*Friedensthal and its Stockaded Mill*" (east of Nazareth on the Bushkill Creek), "*Revolutionary Notes Concerning Nazareth*", "*Friedensthal and Christian Spring*", "*Wyalusing and Friedenshuetten*" (on U. S. Route 6) and the story of "*Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning*" will give any first reader a conception of the pioneer days of our church in this country that he shall never forget.

The late John W. Jordan wrote a very unusual narrative of "*Moravian Immigration to Pennsylvania. 1734-67.*" It all centers about the several sailing vessels which were bought or chartered by the church for the distinct purpose of transporting Moravian immigrants to the Brethren's colonies. There were four such vessels: the "Catherine", the "Little Strength", the "Irene" and the "Hope" which were owned by the church, of the type called a "snow". (Vol. V, p. 51.) The ensign of the latter three vessels was a lamb passant, with a flag in a blood-colored field. The "Little Strength" was purchased to carry the Second Sea Congregation to this country in 1743. She sailed in September with 115 passengers and a crew of thirteen sailors and anchored off Staten Island on November 26th. Her return voyage began at New York on March 24, 1744, but when in the English Channel she was captured by a Spanish privateer, the passengers were robbed and finally landed and set free at St. Sebastian in Spain. The vessel, of course, was a total loss to the church.

Four years later "The Irene" was specially built in New York according to plans still in the archives in Bethlehem and launched in the presence of about 1000 spectators . In honor of the event, Bishop Spangenberg presented to the wife of the builder, Lysbeth van Deventer, the sum of 2£ 2 sh., 1 p. *with which to purchase a new gown*! The Irene made a total of fourteen voyages on the

last of which she too was captured by a privateer and finally wrecked near Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. There are thrilling adventure stories in these pages and not a few hardships. Nevertheless Bishop Spangenberg in 1762, when reviewing the immigrations of the previous 26 years stated that of the more than 600 brethren and sisters who came over but *one* had died!

In volume I, page 225 we find a very unusual document prepared by William C. Reichel at the request of the American Philosophical Society from a manuscript of John Heckewelder, the outstanding missionary to the Indians. It is entitled: "*Names which the Delaware Indians gave to rivers, streams and localities in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, with their significations*". Only a perusal of some of these pages will convey an adequate idea of the peculiar fascination of these studies, e. g. the name Catasauqua means 'the earth thirsts', Tamaqua means 'Beaver stream' and Macungie means 'Feeding place of bears'.

Another literary essay of unique and surprising content is a listing of "*The Literary Works of the Foreign Missionaries of the Moravian Church previous to 1886.* "(Vol II, p. 375) In view of the fact that in the earlier decades only a small number of our missionaries were specially educated men, the number and character of their literary works is simply amazing. The languages involved are: the Eskimo of Greenland and Labrador, the Delaware, Onondaga, Miskito and Arrawak Indian, Negro English, Kaffir and Tibetan, Cingalese, Persian Nicobarese, Bengalese and Mongolian, as well as German, Dutch and English. In some of these languages our missionaries created a small library numbering in the Tibetan no less than seventeen large and small books.

A paper entitled "*Moravian Manuscript Literature*", by Brother James Henry, (Vol. IV, p. 15) presents the key to the remarkable wealth of historical material available in our church, which simply amazes students of history. (Fortunately the old requirement that the pastor of every congregation shall keep a church diary reporting the most important occurrences in the life of the congregation has been quite faithfully followed. Such diaries date back to 1741 in this country and thus provide an enormous fund of first-hand reports on many historically valuable events. Similarly the records of the proceedings of the Wardens'

College and the Helpers' Conference were carefully kept through the years. The "Gemein Nachrichten" (congregation reports) made their first appearance under that name in 1765, being the successor of the "Juengerhaus Diarium" and "Gemeinhaus Diarium", all of which were manifolded in manuscript until 1818 when they first appeared in print. These contain reports of our church's work all over the world and are a priceless source of information of many kinds, sometimes throwing completely unbiased light on historical problems.

John W. Jordan's "*Historical Sketch of the Widows' House at Bethlehem*", 1768-1892, gives not only a complete history of that institution, accompanied by pictures, but it also provides about thirty brief biographies of the widows living there in 1768. These are really revealing stories of Christian womanhood. The widely scattered birthplaces listed: Switzerland, the Palatinate, Canterbury, England, Bohemia, Holland, Silesia, London, Bavaria, Moravia, as well as New York, Connecticut and Pennsylvania give but a faint suggestion of the cosmopolitan character of the group.

Volume XV, entitled "*Early Moravian Education In Pennsylvania, 1740-1840*" was written by Dr. Mabel Haller and is based on years of research and translation of German manuscript records. Miss Haller has produced a comprehensive and most interesting account of every sort of educational effort made during that century. It is an invaluable contribution to the history of education in America as well as an indispensable record of one phase of our church life. Historical sketches of the early life of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies and of Nazareth Hall Military Academy appear in Vol I. It is interesting to note that only boys 7 to 12 years of age were ordinarily accepted at the Hall and that the annual fee covering tuition, board, lodging, fuel, etc. reached *a maximum* of $80.00, plus one guinea at the time of his entrance for the use of the library, musical instruments, etc. "If parents of property should find themselves inclined to add to this entrance money, it will be thankfully acknowledged, " we read.

A history of the "*Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies in Hope, Indiana*" in Volume X covers the life of that institution from its establishment in 1866 to its close in 1881. The very erstwhile existence of this school may be news to some. The

story of the "*Beck Family School*" in Lititz, Pa. is another less well known record of thirty years of fine educational work. The two century record of "*Linden Hall Seminary*" at Lititz, which is flourishing to-day is very condensed but recites an unusually fine piece of Christian education for girls.

Dr. William N. Schwarze's *History of Moravian College and Theological Seminary*", which institution is this year celebrating its sesqui-centennial, covers almost 300 pages of Volume VIII although it reviews only the first hundred years. Dr. Schwarze outlines the background of Moravian education in this country and then traces the steps for the actual establishment of the institution at Nazareth Hall for the training of "teachers for the Boys' School who may in due time be used in the service of the Lord in the American congregations." A beginning was made with two students who were given living quarters in Nazareth Hall.

Early American Moravian music has come very much into the lime-light of late but the publication of an address by Doctor Albert G. Rau in March of 1935 on "*The Development of Music in Bethlehem*" (Vol XIII) is the forerunner of all that is coming to flower now. This was followed by a study of "*Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the Unitas Fratrum*" made by Dr. Hans T. David and also found in Vol. XIII. Here for the first time we find something like a complete study of the creation as well as the rendition of that wealth of excellent music which is being so highly prized. David introduces us to Johann Frederick Peter, Jeremiah Denke, Johannes Herbst, John Antes, David Moritz Michael and John Christian Bechler for the first time. What a revelation that has come to be! Another valuable music study, viz. of "*The Early Hymnals of the Moravian Brethren*" was made by Dr. W. N. Schwarze. In it he shows the great contribution which our spiritual forefathers made to public worship by introducing congregational singing. He tells of the *earliest known hymn-book published* for their use at Prague in 1501 and of numerous succeeding hymnals.—In volume XVI we find an interesting study of "*The Hymns of James Montgomery*" by John Johansen. Montgomery is acknowledged to be one of the three greatest English hymn-writers and his hymns are a truly great Moravian contribution to the life of the Christian church, for they are found practically everywhere one

hundred years after his death.

It would be wearisome to refer to the accounts of Moravian settlements which appear in the Transactions. But there is a wealth of these including such topics as: Moravian work in Hope, New Jersey, New Sweden, New Jersey, Oley, Pa., the churches in Ohio including Pilgerruh (near Cleveland), Broadbay, Maine and Fairfield, Ontario.

Dr. Adelaide Fries' study of "*Moravian Customs: Our Inheritance*" in Volume XI should be familiar to everyone of us for obvious reasons. It throws valuable light on the very subjects about which so many non-Moravians constantly inquire. Here are the answers. Scattered through the various volumes there can be found a number of papers describing the life and buildings of the several choir establishments in some of the old settlement congregations, viz. the Single Brethrens' and Single Sisters' Houses and the Widows' House. The "*History of the Bethlehem Church and the Buildings on Church Street*" by Prof. Garth Howland in Volumes XIII and XIV are well illustrated and really scientific architectural studies of great interest.

There is a great wealth of material concerning the Indians themselves as well as our work among them available in papers such as: "*Contacts of the Moravian Church with the Iroquois League*," "*Visit of the Chiefs of the Six Nations to Nazareth*", the "*Report to be laid before the President of the U. S.*" relative to the Christian Indians under the care of the United Brethren, by that veteran missionary John Heckewelder in 1822"; an "*Effort to Establish a Mission among the Chippewa Indians in Canada*", the stories of our work at Friedenshuetten and Wyalusing, Gnadenhuetten, Meniolagomeka, Wechquetank, Zeisberger's Journeys to Shekomeko and the Shawanese; the "*Mission on the White River in Indiana*". Volume XIV contains Brother Danneberger's centennial review of our work on "*The Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua*" which treats of the economic and political conditions as well as of the religious work. A major article in the same volume, by Bishop Clement Hoyler, furnishes an authentic and very intimate record of "*Pioneering in Western Canada*" based on thirty years of personal experience. A perusal of this narrative gives a new appreciation of the sturdiness of the Christian settlers in the far northwest.

Very intriguing are the mere titles of a number of monographs

such as: "*The Apothecary in Bethlehem*". "*The Bible in Bohemia*". "*Catechism of the Bohemian Brethren*", "*Physicians of Early Bethlehem*", "*The Red Rose Inn*", "*The Moravian Text Book*", "*The Old Nazareth Inn*", "*The Widows' Society*".

I have left to the last some of the larger works published by our society partly because they have doubtless attracted more general attention. The oldest of these is L.T. Reichel's the "*Moravian Church in America, 1734-48*" (Vol. III) We should carefully note that everything here recorded preceded the Revolutionary War by almost a generation. The earnest efforts of those years to bring together the many different sects abounding in the colonies by means of the so-called "Pennsylvania Synods" give the reader a real insight into the ecumenical spirit of Count Zinzendorf and some of his collaborators. The monumental "*History of the Moravian Church during the 18th and 19th Centuries*" by the late Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton is Volume VI. It has long since become the indispensable authority on the Renewed Moravian Church. Further comment is superfluous. However it is rather startling to learn that our society received 450 copies of this volume of 629 pages for the sum of only $575.00. (The 1957 volume of 216 pages is costing us $1248.)

Reference has already been made to Brother Harry E. Stocker's "*Mission among the White River Indians*" in Volume X. A special series volume of 331 pages by Brother Edmund Schwarze on "*Moravian Missions among Southern Indian Tribes*" relates a part of the early history of the Moravian settlement in North Carolina, which, in turn, is one of the main chapters in the history of that state. Later our missionaries followed the Cherokee Indians when they migrated to Indian Territory and wrote a chapter in our mission history which is probably unknown to most of us, although beginning in 1737 it continued in spite of great hardships until 1898.

In volume IV we find two collections of "*Papers of Bishop John Ettwein*", which throw interesting side-lights on the affairs of the eighteenth century, but volume XII contains Dr. Kenneth G. Hamilton's thorough study of "*John Ettwein and the Moravian Church during the Revolutionary Period,*" fully documented and indexed. A forty-six year chronicle of Ettwein's more important journeys in America gives us some conception of this outstanding man. The hundreds of original sources listed deserve careful

reading because they are amazing evidence of the invaluable collections of historical material hidden away in our several Moravian archives, in the Library of Congress and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. We are especially happy that among these manuscripts there are two of Ettwein's maps of the Schoenbrunn settlement in Ohio. They have made possible that remarkable restoration of our Christian Indian village in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, which is an unusual historic landmark at New Philadelphia, Ohio, visited by as high as 40,000 visitors in a year.

Finally let me speak briefly of the current Part III of Volume XVI of our Transactions. It is entitled: "*The Theology of John Cennick*" by Brother Vernon W. Couillard, dean of our Theological Seminary. Most of us know only that Cennick wrote the hymn: "Children of the heavenly King" and our familiar table-grace: "Be present at our table Lord". However, we should be better informed about the man of whom the English historian says that: "Of all the English Brethren he did most to extend the cause of the Moravian Church in the United Kingdom and no fewer than fifteen congregations owed their existence directly or indirectly to his efforts" although he died at the early age of thirty-seven. "He was the inferior of Wesley in organizing skill and the inferior of Whitefield in dramatic power; but in devotion, in simplicity and in command over his audience he was the equal of either". In short, Cennick was the pre-eminent Moravian of whom Green in his "History of the English People" speaks as the earliest friends of the great religious revival led by George Whitefield and the Wesleys. He, like these held audiences by his open-air preaching.—When the clergy of the established church complained to the Bishop of Down and Connor that Cennick was emptying their churches he replied: "Preach what Cennick preaches, preach Christ crucified and then people will not have to go to Cennick to hear the Gospel"!

Such, my fellow-members of the Moravian Historical Society, is a brief and far from complete centennial survey of the society's activities and especially of its publications since 1857. I have found it very difficult to limit myself as much as I have with such a wealth of material to review. But I sincerely hope that I have succeeded in showing the great and abiding value of the society's work and especially of its publications.

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